

**Supporting Self-Help Efforts:  
CanDo, a Japanese NGO in Kenya**

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## **Declaration**

This thesis has been composed by myself from the results of my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree.

Yuki Nakamura



## **Abstract**

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are now key players in international development, but their activities have also been facing a large volume of criticism since around the turn of the century. The role of Northern NGOs in development assistance has been of particular concern due to a range of aspects of their work. Critical in the debates about NGOs are issues of legitimacy and of imposing outsiders' views and priorities on their host communities through their development assistance. In such scepticism about Northern NGOs, there has been a shift to the current focus of large scale international NGOs' activities which is now more on advocacy and emergency relief activities; more development assistance has been handed directly to local grassroots organisations or to partner organisations of international NGOs. The small scale Northern NGOs, which comprise the majority, have been in danger in the international arena.

Since the 1990s, Japan has also witnessed the surge of NGOs working in international cooperation. The new type of NGOs, whose activities are inspired not by anti-government movements but by international development, grew rapidly with increased governmental assistance. These Japanese NGOs are, however, often small scale and mostly engaged in development assistance, unlike their counterparts in Western countries. The purpose of this study is to explore the activities, lifestyle, and development thinking of a single Japanese NGO in order to deepen our understanding of Japan's international cooperation conducted by citizens from a wide range of aspects and to verify whether and how the Japanese philosophy of self-help efforts is put into practice in Kenya.

Chapter 2 presents the methodology which is employed in the study. Chapter 3 looks at the origin and international trends of NGOs working in development through the relevant literature. The main focus is not put on an examination of NGOs' national roles, rather it is placed on the transition of their role and relationship with states in general development issues. Chapter 4 examines community participation in development in the local Kenyan context. The chapter provides insights into the role of self-help and the way local self-help efforts have

been directed by the national and local politics for development in Kenya. Chapter 5 looks at Japan's official development assistance (ODA) in order to explore the conceptual and historical context of Japan's international cooperation, as this has a considerable influence over Japanese NGOs. The chapter provides insights into the philosophy of self-help efforts in Japan's ODA as well as on the influence of Japanese policy over the activities of Japanese NGOs. Chapter 6 investigates the systems and mechanisms of NGOs in Japan, including the origin and history of Japanese NGOs, the scale and scope of their activities, their funding system, and their relationships with their donors and amongst themselves, in addition to the interaction between the government and Japanese NGOs.

Chapters 7 and 8 are the main body of this study and provide in-depth research on a Japanese NGO in Kenya: Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo). Although it is small when compared with International NGOs, CanDo has been drawing substantial attention in the Japanese international development community in these five years. The main purpose of these chapters is not to evaluate whether the activities of CanDo are effective or not, but rather to explore its philosophy of facilitating local self-help efforts and how the philosophy is put into practice in its activities in poor communities in Mwingi District, Kenya. Its philosophy is analysed through describing in detail its organisational characteristics, development thinking, and its relationships with the local authority and local community. The final chapter explores the implications of CanDo's philosophy and practice in understanding Japanese international cooperation in Africa as well as the role of small international NGOs working on development activities with local communities.

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## Abbreviations

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| AAR Japan | Association for Aid and Relief, Japan             |
| ADRA      | Adventist Development and Relief Agency           |
| AEF       | African Education Fund                            |
| AIDS      | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome               |
| AMDA      | Association of Medical Doctors in Asia            |
| AMREF     | African Medical & Research Foundation             |
| ASAL      | Arid and Semi-Arid Land                           |
| BHHC      | Basic Household Health Care                       |
| BHN       | Basic Human Needs                                 |
| BOND      | British Overseas NGOs for Development             |
| CanDo     | Community Action Development Organisation         |
| CBOs      | Community Based Organisations                     |
| CIDA      | Canadian International Development Agency         |
| CSCF      | Civil Society Challenge Fund                      |
| CSO       | Civil Society Organisations                       |
| DAC       | Development Assistance Committee                  |
| DAG       | Development Assistance Group                      |
| DANIDA    | Danish International Development Agency           |
| DC        | District Commissioner                             |
| DEO       | District Educational Officer                      |
| DO        | District Officer                                  |
| DTZ       | Deutch Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit |
| ECCD      | Early Childhood Care and Education                |
| ECD       | Early Childhood Development                       |
| ECDE      | Early Childhood Development and Education         |
| EORA      | Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Area Fund     |
| EPA       | Economic Planning Agency                          |
| FIDR      | Foundation for International Development/Relief   |
| FILP      | Fiscal Investment and Loan Programme              |
| FPE       | Free Primary Education                            |
| GCF       | Global Citizenship Fund                           |
| HIT       | <i>Harambee</i> Institute of Technology           |
| HIV       | Human Immunodeficiency Virus                      |
| ICA       | Institute of Cultural Affairs                     |
| ICSP      | Iraq Civil Society and Independent Media Program  |
| IDA       | International Development Association             |
| IDT       | International Development Target                  |
| IFC       | International Finance Corporation                 |
| ILO       | International Labour Organisation                 |
| IMCU      | International Medical Collaboration Unit          |
| IMF       | International Monetary Fund                       |
| JANIC     | Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation    |
| JBIC      | Japan Bank for International Cooperation          |
| JF        | Japan Foundation                                  |
| JICA      | Japan International Cooperation Agency            |
| JICS      | Japan International Cooperation Systems           |
| JNNE      | Japan NGO Network for Education                   |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| JOCS    | Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service            |
| JPF     | Japan Platform  |
| JPP     | JICA Partnership Programme                                      |
| JVC     | Japan International Volunteer Centre                            |
| KCPE    | Kenya Certificate of Primary Education                          |
| KJSE    | Kenya Junior Secondary Examination                              |
| METI    | Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry                        |
| MEXT    | Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology  |
| MITI    | Ministry of International Trade and Industry                    |
| MOF     | Ministry of Finance   |
| MOFA    | Ministry of Foreign Affairs                                     |
| MOH     | Ministry of Health  |
| MOU     | Memorandum of Understanding                                     |
| MP      | Member of Parliament  |
| MSC     | Medecins Sans Frontieres  |
| NARC    | National Rainbow Coalition                                      |
| NCCK    | National Christian Council of Kenya                             |
| NFE     | Non-Formal Education  |
| NEPAD   | New Partnership for Africa's Development                        |
| NGDO    | Non-Governmental Development Organisation                       |
| NGO     | Non-Governmental Organisation                                   |
| NPO     | Non-Profit Organisation   |
| ODA     | Official Development Assistance                                 |
| OECD    | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development          |
| OPEC    | Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries                   |
| PA      | Parents' Association  |
| PHO     | Public Health Officer   |
| PHT     | Public Health Technician  |
| PPH     | Parents and Children Programme                                  |
| PRISM   | Primary School Management Project                               |
| PROTECO | Proposed Technical Cooperation                                  |
| PRSP    | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper                                |
| PWJ     | Peace Winds Japan   |
| SAP     | Structural Adjustment Programme                                 |
| SCC     | Save the Children Centre  |
| SCIAF   | Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund                        |
| SFL     | School for Life   |
| SMASSE  | Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education |
| SMC     | the School Management Committee                                 |
| SPRED   | Strengthening Primary Education Project                         |
| SVA     | Shanti Volunteer Association                                    |
| SVCJ    | Save the Children Japan   |
| TAC     | Teachers' Advisory Centre                                       |
| TBA     | Traditional Birth Attendant                                     |
| TICAD   | Tokyo International Conference on African Development           |
| TSE     | Teacher Service Commission                                      |
| TVET    | Technical and Vocational Education and Training                 |
| UNDP    | United Nations Development Programme                            |
| UNHCR   | United Nations High Commission for Refugees                     |

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| UPE   | Universal Primary Education               |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| VP    | Village Polytechnic                       |
| VSO   | Voluntary Service Overseas                |
| WFP   | World Food Programme                      |
| WWF   | World Wildlife Fund                       |

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) are important players in international development, especially so since the 1980s. Although there has been a large volume of criticism against NGO activities in recent years, very few people would agree that international development assistance should be conducted officially and that only governments and international agencies should be engaged in international development assistance. In this sense, there should be some role that citizens' activities can play in international development assistance and NGOs could shoulder this to a large extent. A little later than in the international arena, there has been a remarkable growth of interest in the role played by NGOs in Japan's international cooperation despite their small size and scale compared with international NGOs in Western countries. This study examines the practices of a small Japanese NGO which emphasises local self-help efforts in Kenya. The purpose is to understand the activities, lifestyle, and development thinking of a single Japanese NGO as well as its relationship with the local community and local governments in order to deepen our understanding of Japanese citizens' international cooperation from a wide range of aspects and to verify whether and how the Japanese philosophy of self-help efforts is put into practice in Kenya. These include the international environment of NGOs, Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA), and self-help activities in Kenya. The study also aims to be of help in understanding the roles a small organisation can play in international development.

## 1.1. Japan's Development Thinking and NGOs

### 1.1.1. Japan as a Non-Western Country

For decades Japan has participated in international development as one of the greatest donors in the North. It has obviously not been as a member of Western society, although it has been strongly influenced by Western society. Development issues are often discussed, using the terminology of “the North” and “the South” in part to avoid the terms, “developed and developing” countries. The term, “the North”, is normally recognised as industrial or “developed” countries, and the term, “the South”, as “developing” countries (Korten 1990). In the development discourse, however, the dichotomy is often understood in the context of Western “developed” countries and Non-Western “developing” countries. As in Fox’s argument, conventional development planning reflects a model of development that mirrors Western society on to non-Western societies (Fox 1998). In this sort of development planning, a model which mirrors Japanese society would not be included because Japan does not have either a Western tradition or culture but has its own which is based on Eastern tradition and culture. Fox’s argument raises the question of which model Japan has been pursuing in its development assistance and how much it has been understood in the international arena.

### 1.1.2. The Ideas of Self-Help Efforts – *Jijo Doryoku*<sup>1</sup>, *Harambee*, and *Self-help*

One of the core values of Japanese development assistance is its focus on self-help efforts (King 2004; MOFA 1992, 2003a), *jijo doryoku* in Japanese. The characteristics and particularities of Japanese philosophy and attitudes in development assistance are often noted by several authors in the literature. For King and McGrath, for example, the attitudes of Japan towards international development are very much embedded in the culture and bureaucracy of Japan (King and McGrath 2004) as well as in its own history and experiences of modernisation in the Meiji era and the reconstruction after World War II (King 2004). For Sawamura, the Japanese

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<sup>1</sup> In Japanese language, *jijo* literally means self-help, and *doryoku* means efforts.

idea of self-help efforts is cultivated in Japanese culture and would be very different from the Western ideas of autonomy and ownership (Sawamura 2004). In Sawamura's argument, the Western idea of autonomy and ownership in international development is externally given to recipient countries and has an aspect of top-down approaches, whereas the Japanese idea of self-help efforts is "a capacity for self-motivated efforts", which is more endogenous, and has an aspect of bottom-up approaches (Sawamura 2004:32)

However, the focus on self-help efforts is not only promoted through Japan's international cooperation but also through various activities in other countries, both in the South and the North. In Western countries, for example, the formation of self-help groups had a striking increase in the 1960s-70s (Katz 1981; Rivlin and Imbimbo 1989). A large number of people were engaged in activities through these self-help groups in order to overcome their members' common problems "by means of mutual support, both material and psychosocial" (Katz 1981:151). Academics who paid great interests in these citizens' activities in the 1980s considered that these self-help groups were as "subgroups of mutual-aid and social change organisations such as consumer cooperatives, trade unions, civil rights groups, students' movements and housing and community groups" (Rivlin and Imbimbo 1989:722), and a range of articles were made to analyse these self-help groups, especially in the U.S. Many of these organisations which were analysed as self-help groups and mutual-help groups are now called Civil Society Organisations. In this sense, the activities of self-help groups could be associated with the activities of NGOs, and NGOs are considered as organisations in line with these self-help groups with the same stream of people's efforts in self-help and mutual-help in Western countries.

Many African countries also have long tradition of mutual help and self-help activities (Anderson 1969; Nugent 2004). Amongst these African countries, Kenya would be the most notable for its strong emphasis on *Harambee* (Self-help). *Harambee* has been highly valued as a national motto since Independence and has played a great role for the development of Kenya as seen in the *Harambee* (Self-help) Movements. Thus, self-help efforts are not particularities only for



Japanese people, and many people all over the world have placed values on self-help or mutual help activities to a certain degree. Why, then, is Japanese self-help emphasised in international development? Are these values on self-help efforts different in each country? Or, ways are only different when their values on self-help or mutual-help efforts are incorporated into development activities? It would be also important to explore how the aspects self-help and mutual help are reflected in various aspects in international development.

#### 1.1.3. Is Japanese Philosophy Unique?: Need to Know More

The particularities of Japan's international cooperation are thus debatable to a certain extent. However, Japanese thinking on international cooperation needs to be analysed and discussed more widely in the international community, in part because of its volume of development assistance in the South, and in part because development assistance cannot be truly effective without mutual understanding. In the current discourse on development assistance, there is only a limited volume of academic literature concerning Japan's international cooperation. Most of these limited analyses of Japan's international cooperation have been made based on Japanese ODA, and there is almost no literature available on international cooperation activities by Japanese non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Certainly, the analyses based on Japan's ODA are of some use to understand Japanese development thinking, but it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture of Japanese development assistance by only examining that conducted by the Japanese government because ODA is often difficult to detach from international politics. No matter how much the Japanese government and academics emphasise the value of self-help efforts in Japanese development thinking, the arguments made only from the government aspects is not persuasive enough to construct an appropriate understanding of Japan's international cooperation and to convince critics who criticise Japanese philosophy as merely rhetoric designed to disguise the real objectives of Japan's ODA. In this sense, analyses of the Japanese non-governmental aspects would be indispensable in obtaining a better understanding of Japanese thinking on international development.

## 1.2. Africa and Japan's international cooperation

The picture of Japan's international cooperation has shown gradual changes in the last four decades. Historically, the focus of Japan's international cooperation, both by the public and private sectors, has been placed on Asian countries. Of Japan's ODA, for example, more than 90% of the budget in the 1960s and 70% in the 1970s was channelled to Asian countries (Yokozeki and Sawamura 1999). The figure decreased to 54.4% in 1995 and 42.7% in 2004 (MOFA 2005c), showing an accelerating downward trend throughout these decades. One of the reasons for this trend is international agreement on the focus of development assistance towards African countries. For example, the awareness of the need for assistance to African countries has been raised at international conferences such as the Financing for Development conference at Monterrey, Mexico in March 2002, and G8 summits at Kananaskis, Canada in June 2002 and at Gleneagles, Scotland in July 2005.<sup>2</sup>

As well as such international agreements, the Japanese government also has shown increased interest in development assistance to African countries since the 1990s. A series of Tokyo International Conferences on African Development (TICAD) were held in 1993, 1998 and 2003 through the initiative of the Japanese government, and pledges were made to increase assistance to African countries through ODA. At TICAD III in 2003, for example, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi announced the provision of US\$1 billion to Africa as Grant Aid in the Basic Human Needs (BHN) and the debt cancellation of US\$ 3 billion over the next five years (Ohara 2003; MOFA 2005c). Furthermore, at the Asian-African Ministerial Meeting at Jakarta in 2005, the Prime Minister announced that they would hold another TICAD in 2008 and double Japan's ODA to Africa in the proceeding three years (MOFA 2005c).

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<sup>2</sup> At these conferences, debt relief was one of the main issues along with the increase of development assistance to Africa. Agreements were made to place priority for increased assistance on Africa in order to support African initiatives in its development such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Hansen 2003; Kagia 2003; MOFA 2005b)

The motives of the Japanese government for holding TICAD and increasing its assistance to Africa are often criticised as really designed to obtain support from African countries for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (Ohara 2003). This could be considered one of the strategies by which the Japanese government seeks to secure its influential position in international society after the Cold War, in which Japan used to be one of the most important partners of the U.S. in the fight against the communism. African countries have great potential to be important supporters of this strategy. The agreements at international conferences are also viewed with certain scepticism, and are criticised as merely rhetoric when it comes to the implementation of the ideals (Hansen 2003). Nonetheless, there have been some changes in Japan's ODA to Africa in response to these agreements and announcements. In 2004, the Japanese aid channelled through bilateral ODA to Africa was US\$646.97 million which comprised 10.4% of the total Japanese ODA. This was not as much as was given in 1995, although it was an increase compared with 2002 and 2003. The modality of Japanese assistance to Africa has become different to that of other regions and their experiences of international cooperation.

More specifically, one of the features of the recent Japanese assistance to African countries is the relatively high ratio of Grant Aid.<sup>3</sup> In 2004, the total allocation of Japan's ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa was 10.9%, while 42.2% of Japan's Grant Aid and 6.2% of Japan's Technical Cooperation were conducted in the same region (MOFA 2005c). There was no new Yen Loan lending made in the same year. This particular feature of Japan's ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa can be highlighted by comparing the figures with those of East Asia. In 2004, the total allocation of Japan's ODA to East Asia was 31.7%; the allocations in Grant Aid and Technical Cooperation were 6.4% and 30.8% respectively. Furthermore 44.8% of Japan's Yen Loan was conducted in the same region (MOFA 2005c).

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<sup>3</sup> Japan's bilateral ODA comprises Grant Aid, Technical Cooperation, Yen Loan and others. The general share of Grant Aid in Japan's total bilateral ODA was 28.9% (MOFA 2005c). The allocation of the budget for Grant Aid, Technical Cooperation, and Yen Loan in Japan's ODA in 2004 was 14.6%, 21.1%, and 48.1% respectively (MOFA 2005b)

The net disbursement of bilateral Grant Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa in 2004 was US\$1,826.3 million (MOFA 2005d), but about US\$416.6 million was the actual disbursement for Grant Aid channelled through bilateral and multilateral ODA to Africa (MOFA 2005d). The large disparity between the net and the actual disbursements can be accounted for by the debt cancellation of some African countries. By 2002 Japan had conducted debt relief through implementing Grant Aid,<sup>4</sup> but in 2003 Japan began to provide debt cancellation to some of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) by writing off their Yen Loans (MOFA 2005d). In 2004, under debt-reduction measures based on a decision by the Trade and Development Board (TDB) and the HIPC initiative, approximately ¥274.1 billion (US\$2.5 billion) was written off for fifteen HIPC, including Niger, Senegal, Ghana, and Malawi amongst them (MOFA 2005d).

Thus, the Japanese approach to assistance in Africa has transformed from its conventional development assistance to recipient countries in other regions. The change of approach in its assistance to Africa thus requires the Japanese government to explore new strategies and undertake careful planning of its ODA for African countries, which could be very different from Japan's past experience in Asia. However, the Japanese government still emphasises its experiences and expertise in Asia as one of its main policies for the implementation of ODA in other parts of the world (MOFA 2004a). There are more than a few authors who have expressed their concern about this attitude of the Japanese government and Japan's development assistance in Africa, due to lack of experience and differences of the environment, culture, and attitudes in Africa and Asia (Ohno 2003; Sawamura 2004; King and McGrath 2004). In their discussions on Japan's international cooperation, King and McGrath, for example, cite a critical comment by Japanese analysts that Japanese interventions which were considered a success in Asia have not been secured as

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<sup>4</sup> This type of debt-relief was conducted through the scheme of Grant Assistance for Debt Relief, in which the equivalent amount of Grant Aid was provided to HIPC after the repayment of the debt had been made (MOFA 2005b). It is only since 2003 that debt-relief in the true sense has been conducted by the Japanese government.

easily in Africa due to the differences in conditions, skills, and attitudes between the two (King and McGrath 2004).

Sawamura also expresses his concerns about the effectiveness of Japan's focus on self-help efforts, Japanese aid philosophy, in Africa and throws up the question of whether Japanese support to self-help efforts works in the present African development situation (Sawamura 2004). His question is based on lack of administrative capacity of many African countries. However, as Sawamura argues in another discussion on Japan's international cooperation in Africa, the struggle in Japan's implementation of projects in Africa has also been in part due to lack of knowledge and understanding of African values and culture by Japanese people (Sawamura 2003). Development projects which ignore the traditions of the host communities are a high-risk strategy, especially when the projects are conducted on a large scale (Barnard 1996). It is definitely necessary for Japanese development workers to understand Africa from various aspects in order for their engagement in development assistance to Africa to have a fruitful impact.

Fortunately, these concerns about Japan's development assistance to Africa can also be observed in the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in the 2000s. JICA established a Study Committee on Japan's ODA to Africa<sup>5</sup> in 2001. The discussion paper prepared by the study committee, which addresses the importance of partnership with NGOs; especially in participatory development programmes, points out one of the issues and challenges of Japan's ODA to Africa as follows;

....one of the major bottlenecks for Japan's ODA in Africa has been its limited experience in the region compared with Asia. As a result, within the ODA system, there has been a chronic shortage of experienced development professionals who are knowledgeable about the African context. In order to overcome this issue,

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<sup>5</sup> The committee consists of the staff of JICA and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) as well as Japanese expertise on African development from universities as external advisors. One of the objectives of the study committee was explained to undertake "a quick review of Japan's past ODA to Africa and make recommendations in the context of both the changing African development situations and the emerging new development assistance framework" (JICA 2002:i).

strategic collaboration with NGOs, universities, and private companies needs to be explored (JICA 2002:12).

In the discussion paper, Japanese NGOs are thus considered to have certain experience and knowledge in the African contexts, but what knowledge and experience does JICA expect NGOs to have? Is it different from that of JICA? How do they conduct their activities, especially in Africa? The paper does not provide any clear answers to these questions. As mentioned in the previous section, academic research on Japanese NGOs' development activities is extremely limited, and the volume becomes further limited if we look for research, especially that in Africa. Without specific academic exploration of the knowledge and experiences of Japanese NGOs in Africa, such expectations of NGOs by the Japanese government would turn out to be pie in the sky at best.

### 1.3. The Objectives and Subject of the Study

#### 1.3.1. The Objectives of the Study

The most vigorous Japanese NGOs are small organisations which are engaged in project-type development activities funded by the Japanese government. Unlike many Western countries, the advocacy and rights based approaches by NGOs are not actively pursued in Japan. The target organisation in this study is one of these small Japanese NGOs working in Africa; it has been conducting its operation in the field of education, health, and the environment with a philosophy emphasising local self-help efforts. The purpose of the study is three-fold. It is to explore the activities, lifestyle, and development thinking of a single Japanese NGO (1) to deepen an understanding of Japan's international cooperation and its philosophy from a wide range of aspects which influence the activities of NGO: international trends in NGO activities; the tradition of self-help in Kenya; Japan's ODA; and the Japanese environment in which NGOs work, and (2) to verify whether and how Japanese philosophy of self-help efforts is put into practice through interactions with local communities in Kenya. By doing this, the study also aims to (3) identify the role of small organisations in international development assistance.

### 1.3.2. The Subject

The decision to target a single Japanese NGO which is engaged in international cooperation in Kenya in this study was based largely on the aspiration to attain an in-depth understanding of the activities, thinking and interaction with local communities of the NGO which has a strong emphasis on facilitating local self-help efforts through an ethnographic approach: this approach was selected because an in-depth analysis of one single NGO rather than broader, more general analyses of several NGOs is considered to be of great help in understanding Japanese citizens' thinking and philosophy in development assistance . Kenya has a relatively dense population of Japanese NGOs. The number of Japanese NGOs which implement actual projects in the South is not large and much smaller in Africa than other areas. Amongst African countries, Kenya has the largest population of Japanese NGOs. There are only a couple of Japanese NGOs in other countries in Africa such as South Africa, Ghana, Zambia, and Mozambique. Due to the comparatively concentrated population, the network between the Japanese government and NGOs has been well established in Kenya, which would be of help in examining the interaction between the two, as well as amongst NGOs themselves in the country. In addition to the examination of this single NGO, short visits to other Japanese NGOs for interviews and observations of their projects were also conducted. The outcomes of these visits are not reflected in the contents of the thesis, but they were of great help in gaining a deeper understanding of the target organisation through reference to the activities and thinking of other Japanese NGOs in Kenya.

### 1.4. The Structure of This Thesis

Like other NGOs in international development, the selected NGO, Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo), is supported by a variety of individuals and organisations including Japanese citizens, Kenyan communities, and governmental organisations in Japan and Kenya. CanDo is an organisation which has a robust mission and objectives based on its own philosophy in operation, but its activities cannot be immune to the influence of a range of factors, such as

international trends in the development discourse, international politics, and the policies of the Japanese as well as the Kenyan government. Therefore, analyses without the examination of these influential factors would lead to a failure to gain a profound understanding of the attitudes and behaviours of the organisation. It is such a perspective which constitutes the organisation of this thesis. The first three chapters seek to examine the surrounding factors which have an influence in shaping the activities and behaviours of the target organisation internationally, domestically and locally. The last three chapters constitute the body of observation and analyses of the NGO as well as of the Japanese NGO community. In this way, this thesis aims to build up a better understanding of the activities, philosophy, and practice of the target organisation in this question.

Chapter 2 presents the methodological framework of this study. The chapter gives an explanation and consideration of the process of the research and analysis in line with the conceptual framework of the methodology employed in the study. Chapter 3 looks at international trends and the origin of NGOs in international development so as to provide the conceptual and historical contexts of NGOs as people's activities which are related to do with self-help and mutual help in the international arena through the literature. The main focus is put on the examination of NGOs' role and their relationship with donor agencies in general development issues. In doing so, the chapter explores the values and activities of international NGOs, and how these values and activities of international as well as local NGOs have been influenced by donor agencies in international politics so as to draw comparisons with Japanese NGOs in a later chapter.

Chapter 4 examines community participation in development in the local context, which is part of the main issue of this study in relation to the partnership between CanDo and local communities. The focus of the chapter is on the spirit of self-help, *Harambee*, in education, which is the key issue in development in Kenya. The chapter provides insights into the role of self-help by the community in education and how local self-help efforts have been directed by the national and local politics of development in Kenya. Chapter 5 looks at the conceptual and historical context of international cooperation by the Japanese government in order to explore



the background of Japan's ODA which has minor interest in providing support to the democratisation of countries in the South or the advocacy activities of NGOs. This attitude has considerable influence over how Japanese NGOs shape their international cooperation activities. The chapter covers the relationship between Japan and Western countries, especially with the U.S., in Japan's international cooperation and the public system of Japanese development assistance in its socio-economic or socio-political context in order to examine the way Japan's international cooperation has been established in the arena of international politics and how Japanese ministries and agencies have been working on development issues within the framework of Japan's ODA. In doing this, the chapter provides insights into Japan's ODA as well as the influence that the Japanese government has over the activities of Japanese NGOs in general. Chapter 6 investigates the systems and mechanisms of NGOs in Japan, which would include the origin and history of Japanese NGOs, the scale and scope of their activities, their funding system, and their relationships with their donors and amongst themselves, in addition to the interaction between the government and Japanese NGOs.

Chapters 7 and 8 constitute the main body of this study and provide in-depth research on a Japanese NGO in Kenya: Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo). Although it is small compared with International NGOs, CanDo has been drawing substantial attention in the Japanese international development community over the last five years. The main purpose of these chapters is not to evaluate whether the activities of CanDo are effective or not, but rather to explore its philosophy of facilitating local self-help efforts and how this philosophy is put into practice in its activities in poor communities in Mwingi District, Kenya. Its philosophy is analysed by describing in detail its organisational characteristics, development thinking, and its relationships with the local authority and local community. The final chapter explores the implications of CanDo's philosophy and practice in understanding Japan's international cooperation in Africa, as well as the role of small international NGOs working on development activities with local communities.

## Chapter 2. Methodology

Paradigms are not provable. That is, you cannot prove that one paradigm is essentially better than another. They are, essentially, matters of faith. But paradigms shape the methodological choices you make and the relationships you see between theory and data (Esterberg 2002:10)

### 2.1. Investigating the World of Japanese NGOs

How can we explore the world of Japanese NGOs? The investigation of Japanese NGOs has been characterised by the dominance of quantitative analysis in Japan. This dominance is a reflection of the strong preference of Japanese academia for the positivist approach, in which “the goal of social research is to discover a set of causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human behaviour” (Esterberg 2002:10) and research methods should pursue objectivity through “a distinct conceptual and social separation between the researcher’s influence and the object or events being studied” (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:42). The work of qualitative researchers has been often criticised as unscientific or personal and full of bias (Burgess 1988; Phillips 1990; Seale 1999; Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Bernard 2000). With such preference for the positivist approach, studies on Japanese NGOs are mostly conducted using quantitative methods, and the information and knowledge about Japanese NGOs has tended to be skewed towards that which is objectively observable; the financial status, the scale and the scope of their activities.

Investigation through positivistic approaches is certainly important in examining Japanese NGOs. However, many people might feel that it is unsatisfactory, including myself. As Esterberg argues, the positivist tradition is not perfect and faces many challenges in investigating human behaviour and reality (Esterberg 2002). Human behaviour is sensitive to contextual conditions, and their reality is multifarious (Miller and Dingwall 1997). In studying humans, we cannot expect humans to react in the way that the theory predicts a situation which is very

different to other aspects of the physical world such as the behaviours of atoms and molecules (Esterberg 2002). As a result, it is relatively easy to obtain institutional and statistical information on Japanese NGOs but very difficult to find out about the behaviour and reality of Japanese NGOs at their project sites, which is also crucial in order to arrive at a better understanding of Japanese NGOs.

One of the greatest advantages of NGOs working in development activities is often stated as their knowledge at the grassroots level obtained through interactions with local communities. Local communities are very varied and create particular individual settings for NGOs' activities. No matter what philosophy, ideology, and programmes/projects they have, NGOs cannot conduct their activities without communication, negotiation, and cooperation with local people in local situations. Their activities are affected by the cultural, social, political, ethnic, economic, and other contextual characteristics of all those involved in the activities not only at the project sites but in their home countries and on the international stage as well. More information and knowledge on NGOs regarding these aspects would be critical in understanding the world of NGOs.

Against this background, I am interested in interpretive approaches to the investigation of the world of Japanese NGOs. These share the idea that all social reality is constructed by the interaction of people in specific social settings over time (LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Bernard 2000; Esterberg 2002). I am also concerned with multiple perspectives of reality and subjective meanings, whereby I believe that social reality cannot be represented by a single perspective (Fox 1998) and view my work as an interpretation of what people said and did in specific settings. These methodological approaches and understandings comprise the dimensions of this study by which data collection and interpretation are framed.

## 2.2. Data Collection and Analysis

### 2.2.1. Encounter

There are not many Japanese NGOs which conduct a substantial proportion of activities in Africa: this was my first assumption about Japanese NGOs when I began this study on NGOs. I had come to Britain to study famous international

NGOs such as Oxfam and Save the Children as well as other smaller NGOs in the UK. After I came to Scotland and studied British NGOs, I have noticed that the number of famous NGOs was only limited and that these famous international NGOs were leaving the grassroots. In searching for NGOs which were engaged in direct interaction with local communities, Japanese NGOs became the target of my study. Therefore, my research conducted in 2002 searched for those Japanese NGOs in Africa which did not only provide financial support to Southern NGOs, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), and local people, but had substantial activities in which their ideology, values, philosophy, and attitudes would be reflected. My first research was conducted in Edinburgh with the collection of materials and data through the Internet so as to understand which organisations were working in Africa, what activities they were undertaking, and how they were operating.

Due to the upsurge of transparency issues of NGOs and the funding policy of the Japanese government, it was not difficult to collect data from public records and to gain an overview of the activities, mission, and philosophy of Japanese NGOs. Many Japanese NGOs have websites which provide information about their activities to the public, and some are very active in the dissemination of information concerning their activities, including the disclosure of annual reports, newsletters, account reports, research papers, and evaluation reports, which have been submitted to their donors and supporters. There are some methodological issues around text analysis of data collected through the Internet. One of the issues most relevant to my research is the issue of bias. Esterberg points to the danger of the Internet as a data source and the necessity of careful assessment when relying on it in our research (Esterberg 2002). At this stage, my research through the Internet was conducted mainly for the purpose of the identification of Japanese NGOs as my research target.

Through these procedures to detect NGOs which would capture my interests, I identified Kenya as having the largest Japanese NGO population in Africa with several Japanese NGOs implementing their activities, amongst which one organisation, Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo), attracted my

greatest attention due to its activities in so-called “hard and soft fields”,<sup>6</sup> the philosophy outlined in its documentation, and its non-political and non-religious stand point. I made up my mind to conduct fieldwork in Kenya, mainly because I wished to know more about CanDo and partly because I hoped to examine the other organisations in Kenya as well. However, asking for consent to field research in a specific organisation is not easy in Japan since many Japanese organisations are seemingly sceptical towards researchers; especially researchers who hope to take ethnographic approaches and who have not previous connections to introduce them. I waited for an appropriate time to make contact with CanDo because I did not want to be rejected by CanDo and had identified that CanDo periodically recruited interns.

My first attempt to contact CanDo was made when I discovered that CanDo was recruiting interns for its activities in Kenya in October 2002. I applied for the position, clarifying my purpose to conduct field research for a study of Japanese NGOs. I failed to acquire the position, because they needed a person who was able to be fully engaged in the job. One month after the application in November 2002, an offer came from CanDo asking whether I was interested in conducting a project which would be beneficial both to my research and to their activities.

In December 2003, I returned to Japan to see the executive director of CanDo and discovered that CanDo wanted to conduct a kind of evaluation project in order to improve their activities after its five-year operation in Kenya. In particular, CanDo was eager to listen to the voices of local people concerning its projects in the community. The visit also gave me a deeper understanding of CanDo’s activities in Mwingi District, Eastern Province in Kenya as well as of its development thinking, which led to the confirmation of my desire to know more about the organisation. After visiting its Tokyo office, I went to Kenya to meet the president of CanDo and to visit project sites in Mwingi from 25th to 31st January 2003, as preliminary research for the study. I made an agreement with CanDo to explore the possibilities

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<sup>6</sup> Japan’s international cooperation is famous for its emphasis on assistance in the field of “hardware” such as the construction of dams, roads, and classrooms. On the other hand, it is only around a decade since the Japanese government launched “software” assistance such as support to teacher training and health care.

of conducting research for our mutual benefit. In March 2003, after submission of my research design to CanDo, we agreed to conduct a collaborative evaluation project through which CanDo offered me, an external evaluator, completely unlimited access to any kind of data available in its Nairobi office and free accommodation.

#### 2.2.2. The First Field Work: Participation as an Outsider

My first field work started when I arrived at Jomo Kenyatta airport on 17th April 2003, and I stayed in Kenya until 18 November 2003. The first three months were spent in archival research on the activities of CanDo in Kenya and talking with the staff in the office and staff accommodation. As part of the archival research, I worked on daily correspondence between the Nairobi office and the Tokyo office. This daily correspondence had been made since CanDo was conducting a feasibility study for the launch of their activities in Kenya. All the ideas, philosophy, ideology, planning, troubles, and responses had taken place in the daily correspondence, and it gave me an in-depth understanding of the activities of CanDo in Kenya and Tokyo. When I had questions about these activities and ideas, I was able to ask any staff in the office. I was very much surprised at the level of transparency CanDo offered to me, and later found out that such attitudes towards transparency were due to the bitter experience of the president of CanDo, Nagaoka, in another organisation, which will be explained in a later chapter. During this period of time, I participated in all of the daily activities in Nairobi as an outsider who needed to know about the activities for the purposes of the evaluation.

While I was undertaking archival research to understand the activities of CanDo, I also went to project sites to directly observe the activities of CanDo and attended various meetings, from Parents' Meetings for CanDo's projects to District Development Committee Meetings which were regularly conducted by the District Commissioner (DC) of Mwingi. Around this time, the issue of allowances for government officers was raised between CanDo and local government officers at the divisional level, and therefore several meetings on the issue were held with the intervention of the DC and District Educational Officer (DEO). I had opportunities to

attend all of these meetings. These opportunities provided in-depth insights into CanDo's philosophy, attitudes towards, and relationship with government officials; especially insights concerning the philosophy of self-help efforts.

My participation in the activities of the project sites was also intended to expose myself as a researcher (who I am, what I do, and what is the purpose of my work) to the local communities and to gain trust and establish a rapport with people in the communities through formal and informal communication with them. This is indispensable for obtaining good qualitative data (Miller and Dingwall 1997; Fontana and Frey 1998; Darlington and Scott 2002). At the end of June, when I seemed to have enough information on CanDo's projects and its good relationships with local people to a certain extent, my field research at the project sites was launched by visiting schools and communities and conducting formal and informal interviews and group discussions with teachers, headteachers, school management committee members, other parents, local chiefs, and area education officers. The formal interviews were conducted with 252 people in total so as to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of local people towards CanDo and its projects. For CanDo staff, my position was that of an outside researcher, but in the eyes of local people, I was nothing but a staff member of CanDo who was conducting an evaluation.

In addition to CanDo, short-term research on other Japanese NGOs was conducted through visiting their offices and project sites for formal and informal interviews and the observation of their activities at their project sites. The target NGOs in this short-term research include Saidia Furaha, the Association of Medical Doctors in Asia (AMDA), Moyo Children Centre, the International Medical Collaboration Unit (IMCU), Matomai Children Centre, and the Future Kids Project. This research provided me with insights into and an overview of Japanese NGOs and the community in Kenya.

### 2.2.3. The Second Field Work: Participation as an Insider

My second field research was conducted from 21st January 2004 to 2nd September 2004, of which the first six months were spent in Kenya and the other two

months were spent in Japan. The second field research started when I accepted the offer from CanDo to be engaged in a feasibility study for its HIV/AIDS education. To be more accurate about my position, I was not a student of Edinburgh University for CanDo because I took nine months suspension from my PhD study for personal reasons. In some sense, this should not strictly be considered as field research, but I accepted this offer in part because I considered that the job for CanDo would also be of great value to my study.

Firstly, my engagement in the work would provide me with an opportunity to share the research results with the community members by participating in the stakeholders' meeting which was planned at the beginning of the year. Corroborating information elicited from some members by other members is part of member-checking<sup>7</sup> that certifies the authenticity, validity, and credibility of results (Seale 1999; LeCompte and Schensul 1999). During the process of analysing the research results, I had disseminated the research outcomes to CanDo staff through email while I was in Edinburgh at the end of 2003, and I received a number of comments from CanDo staff, especially the president, which enriched my understanding. However, I had not shared the results with the community members, and I was eager to have an opportunity to disseminate the results to the local people as well as CanDo staff, especially the results concerning the voices of the community members on CanDo's activities.

Secondly, CanDo was going to launch a new project under the JICA Partnership Programme (JPP)<sup>8</sup> from January 2004 to December 2006. Under the JPP, CanDo was going to be provided with funding up to JPY50 million (US\$417,000) for three years, which is comparatively large scale funding to one NGO in Japan. Through participating in the project itself, I wanted to explore what the relationship

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<sup>7</sup> Regarding member checking, Seale explains as follows:

... the most crucial technique for establishing "credibility" is through member checks, showing materials such as interview transcripts and research reports to the people on whom the research has been done, so that they can indicate their agreement or disagreement with the way in which the researcher has represented them. (Seale 1999:45)

<sup>8</sup> The detail of the programme will be discussed in Chapter 6.



between JICA and CanDo would be and how government funding would influence the direction of the NGO projects.

Lastly, I considered that more opportunities would be necessary for triangulation to validate the data collected during the first field research, especially the data from the interviews with local people. Special attention had been paid in conducting and analysing these interviews with the local people in the first research so as to avoid bias and pressure which would lead to false or misleading information, but the issues of internal validity still remain (Fontana and Frey 1998; Seale 1999). In the presence of researchers, “participants can withhold information or lie; what they say and do is affected by their perceptions of who researchers are and what they want to know” (Schensul et al. 1999:279).

In the first field research, in the eyes of the community, I was nothing but a staff member of CanDo who conducted an evaluation. I had spent quite a long time in the community to establish a good rapport before the interviews and even in the interviews I repeatedly mentioned that honest opinions and criticism of CanDo were important for the improvement of the projects in their community. I had reached my conclusion through judging their voices from the interviews within this context, but there remained a desire to have more opportunities for triangulation. As many methodologists argue, triangulation conducted through multiple approaches is of help in securing in-depth understandings of the research objects (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Schensul et al. 1999; Seale 1999). In this new field research, I hoped to have more opportunities for participant observation to judge the accuracy of the interview accounts and to have better insights into how local people might react to CanDo and vice versa.

In addition to field research in Kenya, field research concerning CanDo’s Tokyo office and the NGO meetings in Japan was conducted from 7th July to 2nd September 2004 and from 2nd to 29th November 2005, employing the same qualitative research techniques as in Kenya so that CanDo’s relationship with other NGOs and JICA staff in Japan could be explored. Furthermore, informal interviews with CanDo staff were conducted through email and over the telephone as the need arose during the writing up process.

#### 2.2.4. Data Collection Techniques

I conducted the bulk of my field research with CanDo in Kenya for 19 months in total from 2003 to 2005 as well as additional research in Japan for three months in total in 2004 and 2005. For the field research in Kenya, I employed the qualitative research techniques of participant observation and interviews with CanDo staff in its offices and at its project sites, and meetings with community members, local government officers, other Japanese NGO staff, Japanese government officials, and JICA staff as well as interviews with local community members and government officers in Nairobi and Mwingi District. “Grey literature” was collected such as daily correspondence between Tokyo and Nairobi, project appraisals, periodic reports to donors, project descriptions, minutes of meetings, office memos, official newsletters, and even its accounting records from its office in order to understand their beliefs, ideology, values, and practices.

#### 2.2.5. Language

Interviews with the Japanese staff of CanDo were naturally conducted in Japanese. The translation of interview scripts into English was made by the author on discussion with Nagaoka, president, especially when the key concepts in CanDo’s activities were translated from Japanese into English. The language which was used in the interviews with Kenyan staff, teachers, and government officers and some of the parents was English, and the interviews with most of the parents were conducted through interpretation between English and Kikamba with help from the Kenyan staff of CanDo due to my lack of competence in Kikamba. Therefore, the limitations of research regarding the interviews with local people should be noted in understanding the meanings which were embedded in their culture and practices especially at the time of interviewing. In addition, if there are some mistakes in the English translation, they are not the mistakes of the interviewees but of the author unless the statements are marked with (sic).

### 2.2.6. Data Analysis

The data collection in this study employed a creative process due to the interactive nature of qualitative research (Miles and Huberman 1994; Esterberg 2002), and therefore data analysis basically took place throughout the research phase. Cyclical reflection on the direction and content of the data collection was of great help in moulding the research.

In addition, the formal and group interviews with local people were recorded and transcribed during the first phase of the field research with the consent of the participants. This was mainly because of my incompetence in the local language and English as my second language. The recordings and transcriptions were checked by Kenyan staff, and the parts of the interviews which were expressed in Kikamba or Kiswahili were translated into English by them. The transcriptions were analysed after the first phase of the field research, firstly with open-coding to identify themes and categories for further analysis. On the second stage of transcript analysis, focused coding was employed in order to gain in-depth insights into the perceptions and attitudes of local people towards CanDo staff and projects. The analysis of these transcripts was of great value in shaping the second phase of the field research in Kenya.

## 2.3. Methodological Considerations

### 2.3.1. Single-Case Study and Generalisability

This study is conducted employing the case study method as described by Yin (Yin 2003), and its goal is to gain in-depth understandings of unique complexities through “the details of interaction within the context” (Stake 1995:xi) of a single case.

The choice of the single-case study method was made based on judgements during the field research. Originally, the study had intended to employ multiple-case studies. Kenya had been selected as the target country for this study in part because it has the largest Japanese NGO population in Africa, and short-term field research was undertaken regarding six Japanese NGOs in addition to CanDo in the first phase of

the field research. However, after finishing the first phase, I realised that there was a great disparity in the quality of data between CanDo and the other Japanese NGOs due to the difference of my involvement in each organisation. Although general but shallow information on ideology, philosophy, and activities was collected, none of these six Japanese NGOs provided me with such opportunities for participant observation for in-depth understanding of their activities as CanDo did. It was almost impossible to explore interaction amongst the staff themselves and between the staff and local people in the other six NGOs.

One of the advantages of the multiple-case study method lies in its responsiveness to the demands for typicality and representativeness, and one case study is considered as an inadequate basis for generalisation (Hammersley et al. 2000; Donmoyer 2000). However, one of the most notable characteristics of NGOs lies in their diversity and it is very difficult to make comparisons. Regarding the generalisation on NGOs, Fowler argues as follows,

...because Nongovernmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) are so varied, comparisons are difficult, while exceptions and alternative points of view will always exist. Therefore, while generalisations have to be made, they must be treated with caution....There is no universal recipe for improving NGDO performance; instead, performance rests on the unique history, the characteristics of the people involved and the environment at any moment in time. Nevertheless, while there is no hidden formula, examining how NGDOs function and what they achieve is one way of identifying patterns of behaviour, general principles, best practices and “tricks of an ambiguous trade” which leaders and managers regularly use (Fowler 1997: xii)

Supporting the accounts by Fowler, the decision has been made that the study will deal with one single case in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of how one single NGO functions, what the NGO is doing, and how the staff interact in the local context. Therefore, the aim of the study does not lie in the generalisation of research results but in the proliferation of in-depth experiences derived from a Japanese NGO in Africa, and thus, another limitation of the study lies in lack of generalisability of the research results.

### 2.3.2. The Position of the Researcher and Neutrality

In an earlier section of this chapter, my position in the organisation was addressed through outlining my field research. I was a researcher and a member of the organisation at the same time during most of the field research period. In addition, I was in a position to make a decision concerning which information should be included in the study, as Fox described herself in her ethnographic study on American NGOs (Fox 1998). The restriction on the dissemination of the information collected from CanDo was not a problem thanks to the extremely transparent policy of the organisation. It was totally my decision which information should be best included to depict the characteristics of the organisation.

My involvement in the projects and sense of attachment to the organisation, however, creates different issues to the issue mentioned above. The status of insiders would provide obvious advantages, while it also has serious drawbacks. These are explained by Wolcott through the issues of emic/etic as well as insider/outsider in ethnographic research (Wolcott 1999). It is often argued that establishing a rapport is indispensable for qualitative data collection and a good understanding of the objects (respondents) under study (Fontana and Frey 1998; LeCompte 1999). However, good rapport with the researched may also lead to the creation of some problems related to the issues of neutrality in qualitative research (Fontana and Frey 1998; LeCompte 1999). The issue of neutrality is related to the issues of validity and reliability and concerns how researchers can maintain the degree to which the questions and results of the research are not determined by the biases, perceptions, interests, and values of the researchers (Seale 1999). Researchers are required to carefully analyse these standpoints and biases which are created by their standpoints throughout the procedures of their study. In this sense, the position of the researcher has both positive and negative influence over the data to be collected, and the distance between the researcher and the researched is an issue which requires good balancing and controlling by the researcher with careful consciousness. The issue of neutrality and my distance from the research objects has been the greatest challenge throughout the study.

## **Chapter 3. NGOs and Donor Agencies in International Society: A Crisis for NGOs?**

### **3.1. Introduction**

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been playing a vital role in international development for a very long time. Since around the turn of the century, however, there has been an increasing volume of voices that worry about the future of NGOs<sup>9</sup> in the changing environment surrounding NGOs in international development. NGOs are now challenged by the transformations in the world order which require NGOs to change their activities and policies (Allen 2004). Furthermore, there has been a large volume of criticisms from social and political perspectives with scepticism about NGOs' competence and accountability in fundraising as well as accusations about their lack of legitimacy undermining democratic processes in the South (Lister 2004). These worries are especially serious amongst people who have been involved in NGO activities both directly and indirectly (Edwards *et al.* 1999; Van Rooy 2000; Allen 2004; Lister 2004; Fowler 2005).

Fowler, for example, points out that the insecure world order and partnership with governments create the conditions and competition to standardise NGO thinking and practices, which is undermining the heterogeneity of NGO activities (Fowler 2005). For Lister, the worries are more serious for NGOs in the sense that donor attention is, at least according to her, now shifting away from development NGOs to other non-state actors such as faith groups and trade unions

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<sup>9</sup> Although there are many definitions concerning NGOs by many people, this chapter discusses NGOs in the context of international development assistance, NGOs referring to development NGOs.

leading to less funding to support agendas and practices developed by NGOs (Lister 2004). Both of the authors advise NGOs to develop serious and strategic responses in their thinking and practices to ensure their survival.

However, what has happened to NGOs? It was until just recently that the world witnessed a surge of interest in the role of NGOs both in domestic and international affairs. In the early 1990s Theunis described NGOs gaining popularity in the public arena of international development in such a way that governments and multilateral agencies facing problems in international development had come to recognise the effective contribution of NGOs in their development programmes (Theunis 1992). Hulme and Edwards argued that;

The rise of NGOs is not an accident; nor is it solely a response to local initiative and voluntary action. Equally important is the increasing popularity of NGOs with governments and official aid agencies, which is itself a recent response to developments in economic and political thinking (Hulme and Edwards 1997:5).

Although the massive increase of governmental support to NGOs had already started under neo-liberal orthodoxy in the 1980s, NGOs were again expected to act as the most popular solution to various problems in development related fields in the 1990s. Especially with the global spread of the concept of Civil Society, NGOs gained huge attention in the literature. “The NGO literature exploded” (Edwards and Fowler 2002:1). For Edwards and Fowler, NGOs are “a force for transformation in global politics and economics” (Edwards and Fowler 2002: 1), and, for Helmich, “decades of NGO experience are now increasingly tapped by governments seeking to extend the scope of their programmes” (Helmich 1999: 3). Thus, a variety of discussions on NGOs took place in books, journal articles, and agency publications by various types of people including academics, policy-makers, and practitioners who were involved or not involved in international development in many countries amongst which Japan was included.

With such great interest by the donor agencies as well as the public, NGOs are now seemingly incorporated in development assistance as one of the key players. Both governmental and private funding channelled through NGOs has witnessed a large increase in volume in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) member

countries in the last two decades of the previous century. The total governmental contribution to NGOs in bilateral Official Development Assistance (ODA) of DAC countries was increased from US\$0.8 million in 1980 to US\$981.9 million in 1990 to US\$ 1199.8 million in 2000. On the other hand, the total flow of “Grants by NGOs” to developing countries in DAC statistics was increased from US\$1085.3 million in 1980 to US\$6223.3 million in 1999 to US\$6933.7 million in 2000 (DAC 2005) and the funding is still increasing.<sup>10</sup> In 2004, US\$11,306.1 million was provided as Grants by NGOs<sup>11</sup> to countries in the South and US\$ 1,794.1 million was provided to NGOs in bilateral ODA (DAC 2005). For Japan, which has been considered as one of the smallest supporters of NGOs amongst DAC member countries, its funding to NGOs in ODA also shows a stark increase through these two decades. The ODA funding to NGOs started in 1985 with the amount of US\$41.2 million, which went up to US\$103.4 million in 1990 and reached US\$333.9 million, which comprised 3.4% of Japan’s bilateral ODA, in 1997. In 2004 the ODA funding to NGOs was US\$248.4 million, which comprised 4.2% of Japan’s bilateral ODA (DAC 2005). These figures seemingly show continuous steady governmental interest in NGOs in international development. What is, then, the reason for the worries that NGO academics and practitioners raise? What is happening to NGOs in international development?

This chapter examines what has been happening in the NGO world and what are the issues and problems that NGOs are currently facing in the development discourse of NGOs in the international contexts, which have a large influence over Japanese NGOs in international cooperation. The main focus is put on the examination of Northern NGOs’ role and their relationship with governmental donor agencies in general development issues. In doing so, the chapter re-examines what

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<sup>10</sup> The amount of official funding in bilateral ODA does not include the funding by the U.S., Germany, Greece and Norway. Therefore, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) data greatly underestimates official support to NGOs, and the actual amount is considered to be much greater than the data by the OECD.

<sup>11</sup> The breakdown of “Grants by NGOs” is obscure in the DAC statistics. The financial sources of the grants presumably include funding from both public and private sources and vary to a great extent depending on the member countries. Therefore, the figure for Grants by NGOs should be considered only as “financial flow channelled through NGOs” to developing countries.



better roles NGOs can play in the future of international development before looking at Japanese NGOs specifically.

### 3.2. The Terms: NGOs and Civil Society Organisations

As the concept of Civil Society has entered into the development discourse, many academics, governments, and aid agencies actively started using the term Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) instead of NGOs in the mid-1990s.<sup>12</sup> Around the same period of time, in exploring the history of NGOs in development, some sought the origin of NGOs in the history of Civil Society and the influence of the concept of Civil Society over NGOs. Some arguments which connect the origin of NGOs with the Western tradition of Civil Society have traced the tradition back to the Western association culture and Enlightenment Movement in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These look for the ancestry of Civil Society in such philosophers as John Locke, Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Georg W. F. Hegel and Antonio Gramsci. Others who put more focus on Civil Society in the history of democracy in the United States have traced this back to Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Smillie 1999; Van Rooy 2000; Lewis 2001; Howell and Pearce 2002).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The World Bank, for example, established the NGO Unit in 1989 to provide support to NGOs and created NGOs liaison officers, but these officers were renamed as Civil Society Specialists in 1995 and again as Civil Society Engagement Specialists in 2002. Since 2006 the NGO Unit has been called the Global Civil Society Team. Though the term was changed for the World Bank, almost all the CSOs that the World Bank introduced on its web-site are NGOs such as Oxfam, Save the Children, World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and World Vision. As another example, Rita Krut, in her discussion on globalisation and civil society, in 1997 explained as follows;

Non-governmental organizations, as a category of organizational entities, were created at the founding of the United Nations. The category was invented in order to describe a specific relationship between civil organizations and the intergovernmental process, and since then the term has been loosely applied to any organization that is not public. Outside of the United Nations process, these NGOs might be better called civil society organizations (CSOs) (Krut 1997:11).

<sup>13</sup> A Scottish philosopher, Adam Ferguson, thought of civil society as a socially desirable alternative both to the state and the individualism of capitalism. Hegel also argued that without being balanced and ordered by the state, civil society would become self-interested and would not contribute to the common good. Lewis explains that the most influential argument in the modern concepts of civil society was made by Alexis de Tocqueville. It is Alexis de Tocqueville

Various arguments over the meaning of Civil Society have been made when discussing the role of NGOs in international development. In many debates, NGOs are treated as one of the crucial members of Civil Society, and the concept of Civil Society has been often discussed as supporting NGOs in international development. NGOs are thus equated with CSOs in international development. However, this study would like to take the position of differentiating NGOs from CSOs clearly for two reasons. Firstly, CSOs are not identical with NGOs.<sup>14</sup> The concept of CSOs includes a wider array of organisations than NGOs and the term is not value-free, which might cause a bias in understanding the activities and roles of NGOs in international development. Secondly, it was in the late 1980s that the concepts of development and Civil Society met (Van Rooy 2000; Howell and Pearce 2002), and the encounter of these two concepts is itself considered to be created by the economic and political contexts in the history of development. Therefore, this chapter will discuss NGOs separately to CSOs in international development. The issue of Civil Society in the development discourse is discussed in a later section in this chapter.

### 3.3. NGOs in International Development Paradigm

#### 3.3.1. NGOs: Catalysts for change?

For the last fifteen years the expectations of NGOs in the international development arena have been enthusiastic. Since the 1980s when people began to show a great interest in NGOs in international development, literature on NGOs has

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who explained the 19th century associationalism in the U.S., stressing volunteerism, community spirit, and independent association life as a means of protection against the power of the state, and a function as a counterbalance which helped the state to demonstrate accountability and effectiveness (Lewis 2001).

<sup>14</sup> For example, the World Bank defines “the term civil society to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious, or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.” (World Bank 2005b)

flooded into the international development discourse. In understanding NGOs, a wide range of debates have been conducted concerning definitions, typology, and their roles and potential in development assistance; donor agencies especially put much effort into investigating NGOs' capabilities and limitations in accordance with their interests in partnership with or the utilisation of NGOs in their programmes. Some discussions expect that NGOs can be a catalyst for change, and others argue how useful NGOs are as sub-contractors<sup>15</sup> for donor agencies. Introducing these arguments is not enough to understand NGOs in general comprehensively. However, it would be helpful in understanding NGO to have a quick glance at the debates about NGOs' characteristics, including strengths and weaknesses, in understanding NGOs in general.

NGOs are quite often highly profiled in the discourse as having with such strengths as being innovative, cost-effective, and flexible as well as having the ability to mobilise self-help efforts by the community through participatory approaches, putting special focus on demand from the people at the grassroots for taking on tasks not tackled by governments (Korten 1990; Smillie 1995, Tvedt 1998; Edwards 2004b). Many of these strengths are considered to derive from their diversified nature and closeness to the grassroots, and therefore NGOs are claimed to be capable of responding to diversified demands and needs from marginalised people or communities in the South. Furthermore, NGOs are not for profit and have an image of devoting themselves to work for marginalised people; these characteristics help to create a good image of NGOs as working cost-effectively with local communities for marginalised people at the peripheries. The good image of NGOs seems to be one of the main incentives to promote the support to them from the government as well as the public in Japan.

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<sup>15</sup> For example, in a study in the commission of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Helmich discussed the growing role of NGOs as contractors to official programmes, particularly in such areas as emergency relief and post-conflict rehabilitation/reconciliation, and the increasing reliance of the governments on NGOs in the provision of services in health and education (Helmich 1999: 4).

On the other hand, some critics argue that NGOs have problems in management, accountability, and consistency in their activities as weaknesses (Fowler 1997; Tvedt 1998; Edwards, 2002). Many point out the smallness of the impact of their activities in the country, and the financial fragility of NGOs, because they are so dependent on resources from outside, whether they are private or public (Clark 1997; Hulme and Edwards 2002; Igoe 2003). More specifically, in constructing partnerships with NGOs in the mid-1990s, Malena of the World Bank analysed NGO limitations in his guidebook to promote collaboration with NGOs as follows: limited managerial and technical capacity, limited replicability, limited self-sustainability, small scale interventions, politicisation, and lack of an understanding of the broader social or economic context (Malena 1995:76-7). The very same criticisms as the World Bank's are still being discussed concerning Japanese NGOs in Japan's international cooperation in general.

These strengths and weaknesses could be part of NGOs' characteristics, but undoubtedly they can not be applied to all the NGOs in international development. What is important when we discuss NGOs is the recognition that NGOs are extremely diversified in their nature; values, size, tradition, and the partnership with governments as well as the community (Tvedt 1998), and that generalised arguments on NGOs as a single category are hard to conduct. Some NGOs, for example, are highly institutionalised and professionalised with a large number of PhD holders on their staff, and others are very small organisations consisting of volunteer workers only. Some NGOs are criticised on the grounds that their work is money driven rather than mission driven, and others are pointed out as being para-statal, which are affiliated to government bodies, and share the same characteristics as governments. We need to bear in mind that arguments in the discourse tend to put emphasis only on part of the perspectives of NGOs, depending on the position that the critics take. It is imperative to be careful of the heterogeneity of these NGOs and to have the scope to look at individual NGOs without treating them as representative of NGOs as a whole.

### 3.3.2. Issues about NGOs in the Development Discourse

After the initial enthusiasm about NGOs' comparative advantage and potential of flexibility, innovativeness, and cost-effectiveness, since the mid-1990s the challenges and problems of NGOs also have been in the spotlight within the development discourse, giving rise to warnings that NGOs are not a panacea to the problems that the international community has to face. The main issues of the challenges and problems of NGOs can be summarised into five categories: the issues of the unbalanced relationship between Northern and Southern NGOs; escalating dependency on donor funding; advocacy vs. service delivery; legitimacy; and emergency relief vs. social development. These challenges and problems of NGOs in the discourse, however, should be considered as healthy discussions in understanding the nature of NGOs and their role in international development. This section plans to have a close look at these issues for a deeper understanding of the nature of the problems and challenges of NGOs.

#### *North-South Issues*

As the number of NGOs increases in the North as well as in the South and the importance of their role increases, there have been growing concerns about North-South issues in international development. The main part of the debate on the North-South issues of NGOs is concerned with power relations between Northern NGOs and Southern NGOs (Smillie 1995). Until the 1980s, many Northern NGOs took the approach of direct implementation of their programmes and projects in the countries of the South. As Southern NGOs grew in number and capacity, there was a shift amongst many Northern NGOs from "implementation" to "partnership with Southern NGOs". One of the backgrounds of this shift was criticism of the approach of Northern NGOs which heavily relied on expatriate staff who allegedly did not know local situations well. Accordingly, many Northern NGOs have taken an approach where their local partner organisations conduct the actual projects funded by Northern NGOs (Lewis 1998). As a result, many Northern NGOs have become agencies which support activities by Southern NGOs through funding, and the

capacity-building of Southern NGOs has become an important task for Northern NGOs (Giffen 2001) under the banner of partnership.

With this shift in the attitude of Northern NGOs, the partnership between Northern NGOs and Southern NGOs has become one of the central issues for NGOs, and their “unequal partnership”, where Northern NGOs have the initiative in decision-making and Southern NGOs have to follow the instructions from their Northern partners, was criticised by many academics. In the relationship between the two, for example, many pointed out the hierarchical structure of their relationship and argued that the true sense of “partnership” even amongst NGOs seemed to be difficult to attain (Kajese 1991; Edwards and Hulme 1996; Fowler 1997; Smillie 1999; Fowler 2000a).

For Smillie, this relationship is “little more than a patron-client relationship, one of vertical rather than horizontal ties. It is one of asymmetrical obligations” (Smillie 1995:193-4), and these “vertical relations undermine potential for horizontal relationships and the creation of supportive networks and create rivalries between local organisations” (Smillie 1995:193-4). With such an unequal pattern of partnership through funding, the values and priorities of Southern NGOs in their development activities have tended to be co-opted by the decisions of their Northern partners (Smillie 1999). This is one of the issues which have had a grave influence over the role of Northern NGOs in the South. However, the power relation between the North and the South is not only the issue for NGOs, but it is a fundamental issue in international development assistance.

A more recent argument by Lister suggests that Northern NGOs are changing this unequal pattern of partnerships with Southern NGOs to develop more equal partnerships in their efforts to be more transparent and open to their counterparts (Lister 2004). In addition, Southern NGOs such as BRAC have started implementing projects along with Northern NGOs in other countries in the South.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> BRAC is one of the largest southern NGOs based in Bangladesh, which started its projects in 1972 with an almost entirely donor funded project in Bangladesh. The share of donor funding of its expenditure decreased from 100% in 1980 to 24% in 2005. BRAC has extended its projects into Afghanistan and Sri Lanka (BRAC, 2006).

While the appearance of such Southern NGOs indicates a sign of the transformation of the North-South relationships with new efforts by Southern NGOs, it would be difficult to make a judgement based on these few examples that NGOs are solving the problems of the North-South issues through their own efforts by both the North and the South. Undoubtedly, power relations between the North and the South are not only an issue for NGOs, but the same issues also arise in the partnership between governments in the North and South as well as other actors in the international community. The solution to this challenge would require the comprehensive transformation of the partnership between the North and the South in the global context. Furthermore, the North-South issues of NGOs are also deeply connected with their funding mechanisms, and solutions to these problems can not be found solely by NGOs but require long term consideration from the various angles of the relationship between NGOs as well.

#### *Dependency on Donor Funding*

Contrary to the general perception of NGOs' income sources, NGOs have been more dependent on public donor funding than on private donation. As governmental interests in and funding to NGOs and Civil Society Organisations drastically increased, more critics have addressed the increasingly dangerous threat to NGOs' autonomy leading to the loss of their own ideology and priorities in their activities (Hulme and Edwards 1997; Smillie *et al.* 1999; Fowler 2000a; Howell and Pearce 2002). When we look at the statistical data on NGOs, we find that the proportion of total bilateral aid channelled through NGOs is increasing, although the data varies considerably from country to country. However, both Northern and Southern NGOs have become increasingly dependent on official development assistance. The modality and amount of official funding that is channelled to NGOs naturally has a critical influence over the activities of NGOs in international development. The trend for NGOs to depend heavily on official aid, which could result in weakened autonomy for NGOs, has become a big issue since 1990.

Governmental funding towards NGO activities cannot be judged as bad, but heavy dependency on government funding carries the serious risk of NGOs

becoming a technical tool operationalised by donor agencies. Hulme and Edwards argue that NGOs' acceptance of the increasing volume of government funding "involves entering into agreements about what is done, and how it is to be reported and accounted for", warning that NGOs are bound up with particular techniques and donor definitions of achievement, which "are quite inconsistent with the operations of organisations that claim to be promoting qualitative change" (Hulme and Edwards 1997:8). As a result, "the NGOs' ideas, style, capacities, and innovation are becoming less important than the priorities, standards, and agenda of governments in NGO activities (Smillie *et al.* 1999:9). Thus, this issue has led to the loss of autonomy of the activities of NGOs and to questioning of their existence and comparative advantages.

The heavy reliance on external funding is a particularly critical issue amongst Southern NGOs.<sup>17</sup> The increased volume of official funding became a significant factor in the expansion of NGOs in number and activities. This is particularly true in countries in the South. The increased access to official funding has led to the formation of NGOs whose aims are not to respond to the needs of local communities but to seek job opportunities and capital for themselves. As the donor interests in direct funding to Southern NGOs have increased and many Northern NGOs have left their operational approach in the South (Lewis 1998), the problem of these Southern NGOs being skewed in the direction of donor priorities has become more critical than before (Youngman 2000). Ironically, the efforts of Northern NGOs in seeking better partnerships with the South and the direct funding of Southern NGOs by the governments were, to a certain degree, to create adverse effects on the local communities in the aspects of the response to local needs in development activities.

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<sup>17</sup> A survey conducted by Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector in the 1990s found out that foreign funding is crucially important for NGOs in Ghana. 39 out of 46 NGOs reported receiving foreign funds, either private or governmental, accounting for nearly 100% of total expenditure and the aggregated expenditure of 6 organisations that did not report support from abroad was less than 1% of total expenditure of the 46 organisations surveyed (Anheier and Salamon 1998). Similar cases are often reported in other countries in Africa.



### *Advocacy vs. Service Delivery*

Amongst various debates over the role of NGOs in international development, especially that of Northern NGOs, the debate over advocacy vs. service delivery is also a central issue, and the role of NGOs continues to be contested between these two (Jordan and Tuijl 2000). Advocacy here means policy advocacy and service delivery means the implementation of projects on the ground. Advocacy focuses on influencing the general public as well as policy-makers while lobbying takes advocacy messages into politics (Fowler 1997).

The trend of Northern NGOs becoming increasingly involved in advocacy is partly explained by the NGOs' recognition of the limited impact of their traditional development activities in the early 1990s (Edwards and Hulme 2002; Hudson 2000, 2002). NGOs, especially Northern NGOs, have been seeking more effective forms of their activities so that they could influence international society according to their own goals and ideals. The same trend cannot be observed in Japan as we shall see in Chapter 6. NGOs are trying hard to enhance NGO impact by moving away from grassroots assistance towards international advocacy and lobbying. These efforts by NGOs are argued to be an act in their transition from a "development as delivery" body to a "development as leverage" body (Edwards *et al.* 1999; Hudson 2000).

For the donor governments which have been preoccupied with "good governance" issues, the shift of NGOs towards advocacy in the South has been welcome, while their advocacy work towards Northern governments is not so well received. Hudson addressed the fact that advocacy has become increasingly important in the NGOs world, arguing that a number of NGOs, mainly in the North, have gained access to decision-makers in governments and international aid agencies (Hudson 2002). The presence of such NGOs as Oxfam, Save the Children, and World Vision has been often observed in policy dialogues with governments and multilateral agencies.

However, it should be noted that it is only a very limited number of large NGOs in the North, out of a massive number of NGOs in the world, which are successful in gaining such access. Normally, other smaller NGOs are not capable of having such direct access to these decision-makers on their own. Alternatively, they

make coalitions in order to be engaged in effective advocacy under such umbrella organisations as British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) in the UK, trying to share their idea and goals on the agendas they are advocating with other organisations. Agendas in advocacy vary and it is not easy for NGOs whose values, missions, and objectives are different to set substantive priorities in advocacy. Even large international NGOs have begun transnational advocacy through networking with NGOs in the South and the North. The large majority of NGOs are small, and for these small NGOs engaging in both advocacy and project implementation is often beyond their capacity. Under the slogan of “Scaling-Up”, searching for a bigger impact for their activities, NGOs are thus leaving their grassroots activities in favour of having influence over policy-making in the international arena.

In addition to this *positive* shift to advocacy which seeks more impact for NGOs’ activities in international development, there is another reason driving NGOs in the North towards this shift. It is concerning the role of Northern NGOs in the South. Since donor agencies increased their interests in Southern NGOs as cheaper contractors for their projects and for other reasons, more funds have been directly channelled to Southern NGOs in the mid-1990s.<sup>18</sup> This situation has created more opportunities for Southern NGOs which have greater advantage in their local networks and local knowledge, but has put Northern NGOs at risk of losing their *raison d’être*, why they need to exist in international development. As a result, not a few Northern NGOs seeking their *raison d’être* have come to claim that their main role lies in capacity-building in the South and advocacy work to gain influence over policy-making in the international community.

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<sup>18</sup> Malena described the shift of the share of funding towards Community Based Organisations (CBOs), national NGOs and international NGOs by the World Bank in the mid-1990s as follows;

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, most examples of World Bank-NGO collaboration involved international NGOs. In recent years, however, this trend has been reversed. Amongst projects involving NGO collaboration recorded in FY94, 40% involved CBOs, 70% involved national organizations and 10% involved international organizations (Malena 1995:14)

A shift towards advocacy has also been observed amongst Southern NGOs, especially amongst these organisations which have developed their organisational capacity. The question of whether a shift by NGOs into advocacy will make a difference to the lives of marginalised people in the South (Fowler 1997; Hudson 2002) has not been answered yet.

### *Legitimacy*<sup>19</sup>

Having had a further shift towards advocacy, NGOs have been more closely questioned about the legitimacy of their work in international development. The public, governments and donor agencies as well as academics have begun to question the rights of NGOs to be involved in development work. According to Lister, there is very limited clarity of the concept of “legitimacy” in the development discourse, but she observed that debates on NGOs’ legitimacy issues have three key aspects; representativeness, accountability, and performance; she pointed out that these three aspects are difficult and contested areas in the discourse (Lister 2003).

The questions about NGOs’ legitimacy have come from people in various positions (Hudson 2002). The questions on the representativeness and legitimacy of NGOs’ involvement in policy formulation have come from the South as well as academia, whereas the issues of performance have come mainly from donor agencies and other supporters of NGOs’ activities. Some authors question how well NGOs, especially in the North, understand the issues of the South and can represent the marginalised groups in the South, whilst others question the “comparative advantages” of NGOs in international development (Fowler 1997; Nyamugasira 1998; Hudson 2002; Lister 2003). Hudson points out that donor agencies have also questioned the legitimacy of and why they should fund NGOs which have further

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<sup>19</sup> For a definition of legitimacy, Lister introduced Suchman’s as “a useful broadbased inclusive definition of legitimacy, which draws on several different theoretical traditions” (Lister 2003:178).

Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions. (Suchman 1995: 574 quoted by Lister 2003:178)

shifted towards advocacy work, rather than other members of Civil Society, as well as why they need to listen to NGOs' voices (Hudson 2002).

The basis for the legitimacy of Northern NGOs' involvement in policy formulation and representativeness is their expertise, knowledge, and linkage to the South (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Nyamugasira 1998; Hudson 2002; Lister 2003). It is NGOs' experience at the grassroots level that gives them the main basis for their involvement in policy issues.<sup>20</sup> NGOs claim that they advocate issues which are neglected by big development agencies which have less knowledge at the grassroots level. However, as the focus of NGOs in the North has seen the shift to advocacy and away from their operational activities at the grassroots, these NGOs are losing their contact with the reality experienced by local people. These NGOs' voices are losing the representativeness of local realities, which has led to their loss of legitimacy in involvement in policy formulation. For Nyamugasira, even many Southern NGOs constitute Southern elites and are detached from the local reality of poor people and do not have the legitimacy to act as a voice representing local poor communities (Nyamugasira 1998). The problem of the unrepresentativeness of local elites is also a crucial problem in development activities at the grassroots.

The legitimacy of representativeness is also deeply connected with Northern NGOs' dominant access to international aid agencies to voice their own agendas. It is often questioned why NGOs in the North can monopolise access to international agencies and speak on behalf of marginalised groups in the South, or as representatives of Civil Society, in the international arena.

The issues of accountability are considered crucial in providing legitimacy for NGOs' involvement in development work and have various dimensions: accountability to NGOs' beneficiaries and counterparts in the South, to their donors and supporters in the North, and to the public in general. Edwards and Hulme explained this complex accountability by dividing it into two categories;

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<sup>20</sup> For example, Oxfam UK explains its legitimacy and accountability on its Web page, emphasising how widely Oxfam UK is connected with local groups in the South and their efforts to be accountable to various stakeholders both in the South and the North.

“downwards” accountability to NGOs’ partners, beneficiaries, staff and supporters, and “upwards” accountability to their trustees, donors and host governments (Edwards and Hulme 2002:194). Accountability is deeply connected with NGOs’ performance, but it is also connected with NGOs’ involvement in policy work and advocacy. Questioning the legitimacy of Northern NGOs’ involvement in advocacy and policy work, Nyamugasira strongly argues the necessity of accountability for the advocacy agenda of Northern NGOs, which have been detached from operational work at the grassroots, to their counterparts in the South (Nyamugasira 1998). One of the largest advantages of NGOs is their local experience and knowledge gained through their closeness to local communities. When they are abandoning their direct contact with local communities, the issues of the legitimacy of NGOs in development work become serious.

### 3.3.3. Implications of NGO Issues in the Development Discourse

What do the current NGO issues in the discourse imply about NGOs’ role in international development? Are NGOs alternative actors to governments and the private sectors in international development? It is often argued that the issues discussed in the discourse are difficulties and challenges for NGOs to face in international development, and that criticisms of NGOs have been formulated as a backlash against too great an expectation of NGOs. As Allen discussed, many NGOs have agonised over such criticism and made great efforts to respond to the criticism (Allen 2004). However, if a close look at the criticism against NGOs was undertaken, it would be easily recognised that many of the NGO issues were born once NGOs became more involved in official development assistance.

The issues surrounding partnerships between the North and the South have led to the division of the roles of Northern NGOs and Southern NGOs with the donor interest in Southern NGOs as cheaper contractors for their projects. This phenomenon has been accelerated by the governmental preference of direct funding for Southern NGOs to for Northern NGOs. Such a large flow of direct funding from the donor agencies to the South has helped the large expansion of NGOs in the South

but has also acted as an incentive attracting a large number of organisations seeking both funding and job opportunities at the same time.

NGOs' heavy dependency on official funding has also become one of the key issues after donor agencies showed their interest in NGOs by increasing the funding channelled through NGOs. Donors' deployment of Southern NGOs for their own agendas such as cost-effectiveness and democracy has further driven Northern NGOs to advocacy and policy work and to leave their operational work.

Concerning the advocacy work of Northern NGOs, the issue of representativeness and monopolisation of access to international agencies and governments in the North stems from the amicable attitudes of these international agencies and governments towards NGOs, which opens the door to a very limited number of NGOs to act as the representatives of Civil Society. Each organisation or individual is supposed to have an equal right to voice its concerns and agenda in the discipline of democracy, and the real problem of representative issues lies in the attitude of the donor agencies towards this limited number of NGOs in the North.

What these issues mean for NGOs is that the partnership or collaboration with governments and international agencies is one of the strongest forces acting to formulate a significant shift in NGOs' activities and thinking. More than a few NGOs are supposed to have been established with a wish to make changes focussed on social justice in international society, but many of them have been transformed to play a role as a tool for alternative service provision. Some are still not satisfied with this position and others are happy with it. Why, however, has this heavy involvement by NGOs in official development happened, and how and why has NGOs' thinking been modified by more frequent interaction with governments? What are the important factors for NGOs to overcome the crisis that many academics and practitioners are warning them about? The next section will explore the trajectory of NGOs in the history of international development and will try to answer these questions.

### 3.4. Milestones for modern NGOs in development history

#### 3.4.1. NGOs in Emergency Relief

Offshoots of organisational activities by missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be considered as the origin of International NGOs in international development, but many of the current International NGOs with a comparatively long history were established in response to situations after wars and conflicts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Theunis 1992; Smillie 1999; Fowler 2000a): Save the Children was born in 1919; Foster Parents Plan for Children which is currently called Plan International, was born in Spain during the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 39); Oxfam and CARE were founded immediately after World War II; World Vision was born in the Korean War (1950-53); Medecins Sans Frontieres was founded in 1971 after the conflict of Biafra (1967 – 70). During these periods, the activities of these NGOs were often religiously inspired and played a modest role in solving problems of social disruptions after wars and conflicts. NGOs' role was mainly to be devoted to fund-raising and channelling these funds through their own projects to people in need of emergency relief.

In the case of Japan, no Japanese NGOs started emergency relief activities during this period because the Japanese people themselves suffered from difficulties after the defeat of Japan in World War II. However, the evolution of NGOs for development assistance was inspired by emergency relief activities for the crisis around Indo-China refugees in the 1970s.

#### 3.4.2. NGOs in the Systematisation of Foreign Aid

Subsequent to emergency relief after World War II, Northern NGOs have been getting increasingly involved in international development in the South, and their activities have undergone a drastic change in their nature. NGOs transformed their activities from helping marginalised groups in emergency situations to engaging in development activities both socially and politically in the international community.

With the process of decolonisation as well as the creation of international development agencies for cross-border action in the mid-50s and 60s, (which included the UN as well as the Breton Woods system,) foreign aid was theoretically justified and clearly institutionalised. International development has become an important aspect of international relations and the environment surrounding NGOs was critically influenced by this. The Cold War and modernisation theory were the most important milestones for international development in this era. The Cold War created the “Third World” as an ideological battleground for major powers, and modernisation theory justified the aid policies of the countries in the North which brought Western values to the countries in the South (Rist 1997:80-109). Western values in this context might be safely seen as the political intentions of Western capitalist countries to employ foreign aid to fight against communism in the Third World (Orr 1990).

In this environment, official funding began to be made available to NGOs for development projects; this was first started in Germany and the Netherlands and led to “the co-financing system”<sup>21</sup> through adaptation by many other European countries as well as Canada and Australia later (Theunis 1992:7). With this addition to the traditional private donations for their activities, the funding from the co-financing system helped to increase the number of NGOs greatly, and NGOs started to be involved in international development through the foreign aid system in line with the governments because of this the public funding. However, NGOs at this time were only peripheral players in the international development aid system and were not highly profiled either by governments or international aid agencies. Recorded public funding to NGOs was not so large as to be responsible for the current problems of dependency on government funding (DAC 2005 2).

NGOs were more influenced by the process of decolonisation during 1950s-60s and, as Fowler argues, “became motivated by ‘development’ as a political project, rather than out of compassion for those who were suffering” in emergency

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<sup>21</sup> NGO co-financing was first introduced in Germany in 1962 (Randel and German 1999). Theunis explained that “the co-financing system” “meant that the government would add funds to already partially funded projects of the NGOs concerned” (Theunis 1992:7).



situations (Fowler 2000b:639). As a result, the era provided the impetus for the creation of so-called “development NGOs”, although the recognition of NGOs by governments was still mostly for their emergency efforts rather than as their partners in international development.

### 3.4.3. NGOs in an Alternative Development Paradigm

The 1970s could be considered as the turning point for NGOs in international development. It is in the 1970s that NGOs in the North experienced an increasing recognition for their reputation for innovation, creativeness, and for taking on tasks not done by the government although they were not yet prominent for their cost-effectiveness (Theunis 1992; Tvedt 1998; Fowler 2000a; Van Rooy 2000). NGOs began to get a high profile against a background where the focus of foreign aid in the 1970s underwent a transition from a focus on economic growth to poverty and its alleviation. A new interest in the basic needs of marginalised people arose so that more community-based approaches could be taken to rural development in order to meet the needs of marginalised groups in the Third World. In this process, partnerships or alliances between NGOs and international development agencies were formed (even though these might have been temporary), and NGOs were more involved in official development than in the previous decade although they were still at the periphery of international development. This relationship between NGOs and the official aid system at this time is explained by Fowler as follows:

Lack of rapid economic progress and trickle-down of benefits in many countries led, in the 1970s, to a revision of the aid model's emphasis, but not to its basic premises. The shift was towards targeting poorer and more vulnerable groups, with greater attention to provision of social services such as health, education, and adequate nutrition. But, again, this was to be achieved by and through governments. However, this shift mirrored the sort of activities, such as health, education, water supply, and agriculture that NGDOs (Nongovernmental Development Organisations) were typically involved with. This factor started to open up an interface between NGDOs and the official aid system that continued to grow (Fowler 2000b:639-640).

Undoubtedly, the driving force for this interface between NGOs and the official aid system in the era was an encounter between the increasingly ideological support for an alternative development paradigm and the basic needs approach which

was first addressed by the leadership of the International Labour Organization (ILO). This revision of the aid model's emphasis seems to have created a honeymoon period for NGOs and official development agencies such as the World Bank on the grounds that both were looking at the needs of the grassroots (Rist 1997). However, this honeymoon period did not last long and the focus of international development aid reverted back from poverty alleviation to economic growth leading to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s. Despite this NGOs continued to be involved in official aid although the goals of official development aid seemed to be aimed in a different direction to their goals.

Why did this transformation, from the basic needs approach where NGOs found conciliation with the big international aid agencies to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) happen? Why did NGOs continue to be involved in the official development under SAPs, which NGOs criticised greatly in later times? Three elements could be considered to have an influence on this transition; the theoretical background of the alternative development paradigm, the context change for the basic needs approach, and the characteristics of the development aid towards the Third World countries. These three elements show the influence of the Cold War to a great extent (Rist 1997).

As one of the influential landmarks for the alternative development paradigm and the basic needs approach in this era, the rise of theories against modernisation and the influence of Marxism should not be ignored. According to Rist, a group of academics and intellectuals in Latin America argued that the international system under modernisation theory not only failed to guarantee the South's prosperity but also had the effect of dominating it and locking it into dependence on the North (Rist 1997:111). The counteroffensive against modernisation theory became well-known as dependency theory,<sup>22</sup> which was strongly advocated under the influence of Marxism in Latin America and later

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<sup>22</sup> As a further explanation concerning dependency theory, Rist argued that "the dependentistas brought to light the national and international mechanisms for the appropriation of surplus by the central economies, and demonstrated that accumulation regime in the old industrial countries could not reproduce in the periphery" (Rist 1997: 118).

supported by European academics, and threw critical doubt over the theoretical role of foreign aid based on growth models.

The contribution of dependency theory to development thinking was influential, but, as Rist observed, it did not lead to any concrete policies despite its popular appeal. This was due to its failure to offer any solutions to the problems that the theory presented and due to its unsatisfactory explanation of the process of development itself in the South (Rist 1997:120). Dependency theory explained the origins of underdevelopment but failed to provide adequate basis for its conclusion that foreign aid was harmful to the South (Riddell 1987; Rist 1997). Although its negative conclusion was not accepted by a range of people including mainstream development thinkers and Marxist theoreticians, as well as policy makers, the rejection of the theory did not mean the problems which the theory presented were negligible in development thinking. In this sense, the meaning of dependency theory was significant to international development.

This radical backlash against a modernisation paradigm led to “the alternative development paradigm” of development in the South, because advocates of dependency theory “alerted theoreticians and concerned scholars to the need to take serious account of real and influential forces which were wholly absent from the narrow perspectives of modernisation theories and their growth-specific variants” (Riddell 1987:140). Thus, in the mid-1970s, the international development institutions were moving towards the so-called “basic needs approach”, paying more attention to poverty and marginalised people, and involving NGOs in their projects at the grassroots.

Given these circumstances, NGOs became noticed in international development aid in the 1970s. In the NGO discourse the 1970s was understood as the beginning of the alternative development paradigm, which was to lead to the identification of NGOs’ active role in international development (Friedmann 1992; Tandon 2000). However, a disparity between the goals and premises of this alternative development paradigm and the basic needs approach was created in the course of policy making, although their origin or starting point seemed similar. This alternative development paradigm was also advocated as a backlash against the

governmental development projects in the South which were conducted under modernisation theory. For Tandon, it implied small-scale local-level development, an alternative to the practice of the large-scale, national-level development which was determined externally, and it looked at the individual village or a slum as a space for improving people's socio-economic situation focussing on participatory approaches in the community (Tandon 2000); and for Friedmann, who put more emphasis on the empowerment of local communities, NGOs were considered to be significant actors in the alternative development approach (Friedmann 1992). In this way, NGO's development assistance in the era was similar to that in the early 1990s from a pro-poor viewpoint, which connected NGOs with international development agencies.

The basic needs approach was the axis for alternative development and became an arena where the "rightist" international development agencies and the "leftist" NGOs came together. NGOs were thus placed in the centre of the international development system, but this wind soon changed direction. When addressed by the ILO in 1976, the basic needs approach was paralleled by an alternative development, with a focus on structural change in society and redistribution to satisfy basic human needs within the framework of basic human rights. However, the definition given by the ILO stirred up controversy and was criticised by those people who considered rapid economic growth as the most important element in meeting basic needs.

During the Cold War, it seems to have been difficult for the West to accept the definition influenced by Marxist ideology which focussed on the transformation of the societal structure, and the process of the debate reduced the value of the basic needs approach to that of merely only supporting basic needs for survival given by numerical figures such as the necessary calories for survival (Rist 1997). Again, the target of foreign aid was changed from poverty alleviation to economic growth. This swing-back for Friedmann meant that "the meaning of basic needs in more conceptual terms tended to get lost" and favoured accelerated economic growth, technocratic decision-making, production and markets (Friedmann 1992: 59- 60). For Rist, without "transformative influence on the living conditions of the most exploited

layers”, the beautiful concept of the basic needs approach offered arguments to justify outside intervention in the countries of the South (Rist 1997:164). This shift was to lead to SAPs in the 1980s and the expectations of NGOs’ role were to change along with the shift in development thinking.

#### 3.4.4. Neo-liberalism and the Concept of Civil Society

##### *Cost-Effectiveness Matters*

In the 1980s the impact of neo-liberal policies in the South was also significant for the direction of NGOs’ activities. The effect of the debt crisis and SAPs advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank brought a reduction in public services as part of cutbacks in government expenditure and the trend of cost-recovery fees for programmes. With the decrease in government expenditure and the privatisation of public services, activities by NGOs increased to fill gaps left by the governments, taking part in the provision of public services in place of the governments in the South. As a result NGOs thrived and received a greater share of funding from international aid agencies than before.

Furthermore, with the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, other justifications were added for Northern governments to operationalise NGOs in international development. Firstly, the market was considered to be the winner in the state/market debate and private initiative was seen as the most efficient mechanism for achieving economic growth and providing services to the public. Privatising social services had become a hot issue and NGOs were considered more cost-effective service providers in international development than governments. Concerning the future of NGOs, one of the factors ensuring NGOs’ prosperity would be the changing vision of society to one in which NGOs had a role to play in mobilising the local population for development programmes and contributing to structural changes in society (Theunis 1992). The critical development issue of the 1990s has become the importance of NGOs in the transformation of global society (Korten 1990). However, it was mostly the “privatisation” of development projects through contracting out that brought NGOs into the mainstream of international

development (Fowler 2000a). The role expected of NGOs under neo-liberalism was to mobilise local people to act as substitutes for the roles of governments.

NGOs have been profiled by donors in the North with such “comparative advantages” as innovation, flexibility, and participatory approaches, but one of the most important advantages of NGOs for donors is considered to be their cost-effectiveness in this context. NGOs have been considered tools of international neo-liberal development policies (Tandon 2000). Their role has changed to that of contractors for government funded development projects. It was during this period in the 1990s that the Japanese government started to pay more attention to the role of the non-profit sector in domestic issues in Japan. In addition to such attention to the privatisation of public service provision, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) also started to increase financial support to Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation. However, these organisations were not independently pursuing the cost-effectiveness of NGOs in international cooperation but were pushed by foreign pressure. This is very different to many other donor countries working in international development. The donor community as well as academic circles in the North at that time were increasing their interest in Southern NGOs, seeking more cost effectiveness and efficiency in project implementation in international development. This initiated the North and South issues in the development discourse as discussed in a previous section of this chapter.

#### *From NGOs to Civil Society Organisations*

The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s was to give additional reasons for donor agencies to pay attention to the role of NGOs in international development. After the break-down of the Soviet Union, democratisation became another key issue in international development. Regime change and the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in Eastern and Central Europe from the late 1980s shed light on the potential and power of social movements and grassroots organisations, which led to the reinvention of Civil Society as a conceptual weapon for active civic associations and engagement leading to democratisation (Howell and Pearce 2002).

Civil Society has become an indispensable sphere for democratisation, and NGOs have come to be treated as the representatives of Civil Society. NGOs have come to be considered as vehicles for democratisation and are expected to act as a counterweight to the power of the states. In addition, good governance became the main agenda of international development after the failure of SAPs,<sup>23</sup> and NGOs were again considered as a potential agent for good governance through their advocacy work against corrupt governments in the South. NGOs' advocacy for democracy and for "good governance" in the South has become thus justified by donor agencies in the North. NGOs involved in anti-authoritarian movements also began to embrace the concept of Civil Society and to express the role of NGOs as extending beyond that of contractors for donor projects (Howell and Pearce 2002:16)

Against this background, the concept of Civil Society has become fashionable. A large volume of discussion has taken place on Civil Society in the academic discourse, and there was an evident shift in the development discourse from NGOs to Civil Society by the mid-1990s. Civil Society has been understood differently by people in different positions. Some people emphasise Civil Society as the arena in which to discuss and to raise challenges for social change through promoting political participation. For others, it is the arena separate from the state, the family, and the market in which ideological hegemony is contested (Van Rooy 1998; Salamon *et al.* 2000; Howell and Pearce 2002; Edwards 2004a; Hall and Trentmann 2005). For many of these people who are involved in international development, the emergence of Civil Society has seemed something most welcome,

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<sup>23</sup> Howell and Pearce argued that the donor agencies' shift to a focus of good governance occurred as follows;

It (the policy community) was seeking explanations for the failure of SAPs to generate desired economic outcomes. Rather than challenge the basic tenets of SAPs, some donors blamed their failure on inefficient, corrupt, and authoritarian Southern states. This led donors in the early 1990s to apply new forms of political conditionality to loans and technical assistance aimed at improving the democratic governance of Southern countries. The idea that a more democratic and accountable state could foster economic growth and development and allow the market to operate freely accorded with the thinking of the time (Howell and Pearce 2002:40)

but their reasons for welcoming it are different depending on the way they employ the concept.

Amongst the debates on Civil Society, the most influential was the discourse in the U.S. Reinventing de Tocqueville's concept of Civil Society; the U.S. discourse defined Civil Society as a catalyst for democratisation through the wider initiatives of supporting more competitive market economies, well-managed states for responsive services and justice, and improving democracy. Accompanied by the significant contribution of Putnam and others in the early 1990s,<sup>24</sup> the U.S. discourse on the concept and role of Civil Society has dominated donor agencies (Howell and Pearce 2002). Civil Society, instead of NGOs, has been the central issue in the development discourse. By the mid-1990s, most governments and international aid agencies had changed the term NGOs to Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in their discourse and renamed their special units for NGOs as units for Civil Society. In the Civil Society discourse, however, as Lewis argued, supporting and strengthening NGOs has formed a central part of the agenda (Lewis 2001). In many cases, strengthening programmes have been conducted for NGOs in the South, but for Northern NGOs in such countries as Britain as well. Again a large amount of funding from some donor agencies has been provided to NGOs both in the South and the North.

#### *Towards Advocacy Focused Activities*

Donor support to NGOs has shown strong direction according to donors' concept of Civil Society and their development aid policy since the mid-1990s. For the U.S., which is the largest provider of NGO assistance, the prime goal of Civil Society assistance is to promote democratisation according to its idea of democracy<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In their influential work "Making Democracy Work", Putnam and others introduced the idea of "social capital" as the output of civic associationalism and concluded that civil society and civil engagement is the key to "make democracy work" with empirical support of the analysis by their study in Italy (Putnam *et al.* 1993)

<sup>25</sup> In its policy paper in 2002, USAID declared the relationship between democracy and good governance to be as follows;



and its assistance to NGOs is focused primarily on their advocacy for democratisation and good governance rather than their projects at the grassroots level.<sup>26</sup>

Not all donors have the same approach towards NGOs as the U.S.. The Japanese government, for example, does not use the word “Civil Society” in its international cooperation discourse, and funding to Japanese NGOs is categorised as “citizens’ participation” in Japan’s ODA together with other partners such as universities and private corporations. However, this attitude towards Civil Society by the Japanese government is exceptional. For many donors, Civil Society has become the central selection of non-state sector actors in their development assistance policies, and the role of Civil Society has been more and more focused on advocacy for democratisation and good governance. Let us look at the shifts in the attitudes of other main donors<sup>27</sup> towards NGOs.

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Democracy and good governance are mutually reinforcing: when they develop together, resources are used to advance the public good. Public institutions perform their designated roles. Social consensus supports and stabilizes the system of government. Disputes are settled peacefully. And investment flows in, attracted by the low transaction costs associated with government transparency and legitimacy and the rule of law. In these circumstances economies grow, human welfare improves, trade expands, political stability and capacity deepen, and countries become more responsible and resourceful members of the international community (USAID 2002:34.)

As the report clearly mentions, for the U.S., all of Western Europe together with Anglophone states including the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are analysed as stable liberal democracies, but outside of these regions liberal democracy is evaluated as much more uneven and less deeply rooted. In these less rooted countries democracies are analysed as “shallow and illiberal”. In the analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, 17 out of 48 countries are democracies, and only 5 amongst them are liberal democracies. “Many African democracies are hollow and ambiguous, and many other regimes stake a manifestly false claim to democratic states”. In the Middle East including North Africa, only Israel and Turkey are hospitable to democracy, but none of the Arab States is a democracy. The Arab Middle East is the region with the strongest obstacles to democracy (USAID 2002:36-47). This analysis was based on judgements by Freedom House, but the details of this judgement by Freedom House were not clearly explained in the report.

<sup>26</sup> In his report on the USAID programme and operation assessment, Hansen defined civil society only as “non-state organizations to act as catalyst for democratic reform” and did not mention any other activities such as service provision at the grassroots by civil society organisations (Hansen 1996:1).

<sup>27</sup> There are not many donors that explicitly clarify their attitudes towards NGOs and CSOs, and statements in English are ever more limited. With this limitation, this section refers only those

### *Other Donor Interventions*

The World Bank started working to strengthen its relationship with NGOs in the early 1980s, and in 1989 it established the NGO Unit with the aim of providing support to NGOs through invitations to its meetings to discuss the World Bank's policy and programmes. In addition, since the mid-1990s, there has been a shift in the World Bank's discourse from NGOs to Civil Society. In the early years, the establishment of a better relationship with NGOs was made with the aim of dampening criticism towards the World Bank, especially in light of its SAPs (Howell and Pearce 2002), but after the mid-1990s, more collaboration with NGOs has occurred through contracting out Bank's projects to Southern NGOs. Currently, the World Bank acknowledges the contributions of CSOs<sup>28</sup> in shaping global policy, and a greater focus has been placed on transparency, accountability, and good governance in addition to the operational use of NGOs as cost-effective contractors for its projects. The involvement of Civil Society representatives in the formulation of national policies, including the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) reflects this shift in the relationship with NGOs, but their involvement in policy formulation was only consultative, which could be analysed as superficial. Real influence by NGOs on policy formulation has not yet been fully achieved.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which has a longer history of close collaboration with NGOs since the 1970s and launched direct support to small scale activities by NGOs in the 1980s than other international aid agencies, defines CSOs as broadly comparable with other aid agencies just as non-state actors whose aims are neither to generate profits nor to seek governing

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main donors amongst which the author has access to a publication or homepage statement in English or Japanese.

<sup>28</sup> The World Bank defines Civil Society as follows;

The World Bank uses the term civil society to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations (World Bank 2006:website).

power. CSOs unite people to advance shared goals and interests. However, the current UNDP expresses its willingness to engage with CSOs in a wide range of activities and makes the statement in 2006 that the roles of Development CSOs include advocacy; watchdog roles; networking; research; serving as umbrella CSOs; and federations (UNDP 2006). This also shows the UNDP's shift from direct support to NGOs project type activities to supporting advocacy work by CSOs.

The Department for International Development (DFID) in Britain has developed a Civil Society focus on governance since 2000, having undergone a distinct shift from a previously narrow focus on NGOs. Before this, as identified by Hearn in Africa, none of the British aid programmes supported CSOs working in advocacy roles (Hearn 1999). In 1999, Clare Short, then Secretary of State for International Development, defined the role of Northern NGOs as that of advocates for change and directed resources towards Southern NGOs which were helping poor people to make their voices heard (DFID 2006). Clare Short's attitude towards Northern NGOs could be analysed as the same type of strategy in development assistance explained by Ellerman as designed to "do less harm and so that the locus of initiative can shift from the would-be helpers to the doers of development" (Ellerman 2006:248). Accordingly, after the turn of the century, placing an emphasis on a people-led approach, DFID showed a clear shift from supporting NGOs in service delivery to supporting CSOs in advocacy, humanitarian assistance and services, and development education (DFID 2006).

Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) is one of those donors which have long stated that strengthening NGOs was one of the key objectives in its development aid programmes, but its support to NGOs engaged in advocacy was not very significant in the 1990s (Hearn 1999). However, DANIDA also showed a shift to advocacy assistance to CSOs in the South in 2000. In its new strategy paper on assistance to CSOs, DANIDA described the potential role of CSOs as an organised vehicle to express the interests of poor people and to sustain democratic development as an active partner or critic of the state in democracy, expressing its willingness to support such activities by CSOs (DANIDA 2000).

In this atmosphere in the donor community, the U.S. policy towards NGOs is particularly influential on the NGO community as a whole due to its large volume of funding for NGOs. Concerning the shift of the donor agency discourse from NGOs to Civil Society, Howell and Pearce argued that the wide concept of Civil Society was reduced to include just NGOs (Howell and Pearce 2002: 91), but from another point of view, it could be said that the concept of Civil Society has in reality helped to limit NGOs from working as supporters of a wide range of activities to aid marginalised people for social development to working as contractors for donor development programmes and as supporters to donor-defined democracy and good governance. The shift is well presented in the evaluation of Danish NGOs by DANIDA;

Amongst weaknesses of Danish NGOs are: Danish NGOs focused their activities almost purely on the local level. They did not address the national perspective and only rarely supported the local organisations' attempts to influence major issues and policies (DANIDA 2000:15).

Based on this evaluation, DANIDA has made a decision to provide Danish NGOs with financial support for capacity building for advocacy work and lobbying, particularly for participation at the international level, which was the same decision taken in supporting CSOs in the South. NGOs have been encouraged to leave activities at the grassroots in order to have the move to (inter)national advocacy and lobbying.

#### *Promotion of Civil Society by NGOs*

This shift from grassroots activities to advocacy work parallels donors' shift from project to policy-based lending (or grants). However, the shift has not been made only by donor agencies but by NGOs themselves as well. Encouraged by several authors, NGOs also made a decision to reorient their language and programmes towards Civil Society, focusing on advocacy and lobbying. Korten would be one of the most influential amongst these authors. In his popular book in the early 1990s, Korten argued that there are three "generations" of NGO evolution: "relief and welfare" as the first generation where NGOs are involved in direct relief

assistance responding to emergency needs; “small-scale, self-reliant local development” as the second, where NGOs focus their actions on nurturing the capacities of local communities to meet their needs through supporting self-help activities; and “sustainable system development” as the last stage, where NGOs explore making changes in policies at the national and international levels (Korten, 1990). Arguably, many NGOs, even small NGOs, have been inspired by this theory and have moved away from local-level practices to advocacy work at the national and international levels pursuing a bigger impact for their activities. The slogan “Scaling-UP” coined by Hulme and Edwards (Hulme and Edwards 2002) encouraged their move further towards advocacy. For those NGOs which were seeking a bigger impact, the concept of Civil Society with its orientation towards advocacy work seems to have been very appealing.

This observation by Korten is born out by the evolution of NGOs’ action in each community<sup>29</sup> or the evolution of large international NGOs in development. However, the pattern of evolution seemingly “reflects the learning that many NGOs derived from their critical self-examination of their own experience” (Korten, 1990:115) in the community, which might have led NGOs in the wrong direction. The problem with many NGOs in the same direction at the same period of time is that many NGOs might have taken this evolution of NGOs’ action as the course of evolution for NGOs as a whole sector or category. There might be many NGOs which learned from the experiences of other organisations without looking at the communities they were supposed to work with.

The situation of each community varies to a large extent: some communities need emergency assistance, some require to build their capacity to meet local needs in the long-run; others request support to voice their needs. Recently, there has been

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<sup>29</sup> Korten explains his insights into the patterns of NGO action as follows;

As I began to look at the experience of NGOs in development from the perspectives of the need (for more basic institutional change), I was struck that there seemed to be a definite pattern of evolution within the community away from more traditional relief activities and towards greater involvement in catalyzing larger institutional and policy change (Korten 1990:115)

increased demand for emergency relief by NGOs after natural disasters and conflicts in many places in Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia. Emergency relief assistance as well as advocacy work has been re-recognised as part of the most important role of NGOs, and a large volume of support for NGOs' relief assistance has come from both governments and the public. Some communities might need to move to the next stage soon after the emergency relief assistance, so that they could meet their needs in a long term perspective. Some communities might stay at the same stage for a long time. This totally depends on the situation of each community. Some of the largest advantages of NGOs lie in their closeness to local communities and flexibility to meet local needs, but some organisations seemed to have forgotten this and have abandoned their advantage.

In addition, the shift from NGOs to CSOs in the development discourse has been especially expedient for some large international NGOs which have their alliances in the South and enough independent sources of funding for their activities. Increased direct funding for Southern NGOs means more funding opportunities for their alliances in the South, and defining Northern NGOs' role as advocates at the national and international level secures funding for Northern alliances. These large NGOs normally have enough independent financial sources for their activities which are not supported by donor agencies. The issues of heavy reliance on donor funding and fierce competition amongst NGOs for donor funding are particularly important for smaller NGOs which have no Southern alliances and few independent sources of income. The number of large international NGOs is extremely limited when we look at the NGO community as a whole. Such an environment helps large international NGOs to scale up further. The bigger and more powerful gain more. Competition under the neo-liberal market systems seems to be functioning well in the NGO community as well.

#### 3.4.5. Implanting Donor Democracy in the South

With the wide spread of the concept of Civil Society and the increased donor recognition of the role and potential of Civil Society in democratic transition, NGOs have increased their involvement in their role as agents to promote democracy

through their advocacy work and lobbying. As discussed in a former section, because democracy and good governance have become the precondition of development, the importance of democracy support programmes has been amplified in international development aid. With these trends, the emphasis on democracy support programmes has also shown a shift from support to elections and political institutions to support to Civil Society. CSOs are considered, under liberal theory, as a critical element in transforming an authoritarian regime into Western-valued liberal democracy. Strengthening the capacity of NGOs as well as of other CSOs has been placed at the centre of donor support to Civil Society, and CSOs are provided with training for organisational management skills and funding for research, parliamentary lobbying, public education campaigns and conferences (Hearn 1999:5). These CSOs are expected to play a role in promoting accountability, civic participation in policy-making, monitoring, and human rights as a counterweight to the state to achieve the democratisation of the recipient countries of donor agencies.

As some have pointed out, the main objective of these democracy support programmes, especially for the U.S., is the promotion of liberal democracy which enhances the liberalisation of the market economy (Van Rooy 1998; Hearn 2000; Robinson and Friedman 2005). In order to achieve these objectives, donor agencies select organisations which are happy to support donor policy and to be at the forefront of promoting donor values in countries in the South. Many organisations have been created to seek donor funding for their advocacy work. This donor support to Civil Society programmes raises critical issues concerning the state-society relationship, especially in Africa which has been the main target of both bilateral and multilateral democracy assistance since the 1990s.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> In democracy assistance, the U.S. is the leading bilateral donor, followed by Norway, Canada, Germany, the UK and Sweden, Africa accounts for 30-40% of bilateral democracy assistance in the 1990s. In addition, the World Bank has allocated about 70% of its democracy assistance programmes to Africa during this time (JICA 2003). In recent years more attention has been paid to the Middle Eastern countries in democracy assistance. USAID, for example, has conducted the Iraq Civil Society and Independent Media Program (ICSP) as its democracy assistance on a large scale since 2004 as part of its democracy assistance .

Many of the issues concerning the role of Civil Society in Africa but also include the critical problems of applying the Western notion of liberal democracy to different contexts, the danger of imposing donor agendas and structures, and the creation of donor favoured the Civil Society which relies heavily on donor funding (Fatton 1992; Tripp 1998; Hearn 2000). Donor intention could be found to have control over recipient countries through the means of Civil Society behind these issues. The problems of CSOs in democracy support programmes are directly related to the NGO problem of the effect of heavy donor dependency on funding, autonomy, and legitimacy. Under the banner of support to Civil Society, donor friendly organisations have been easily created and supported by large scale funding in order to promote donor values in the recipient countries.

In addition, the equation of NGOs with this Civil Society which puts a focus on Western democracy in donor interventions as well as in the academic discourse has led to the exclusion of many types of activities by people whose values do not lie in Western democracy from donor assistance and the academic discourse. For example, self-help activities by Muslim groups have a long tradition in many parts of Africa as well as in other parts of the South. According to their Muslim values, these people are engaged in the local problems in education, health, and poverty, but their objectives might be to seen to be combat the intrusion of Western values into Muslim society as discussed by Wiktorowicz and Farouki in their article on Islamic NGOs (Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000). These groups are easily neglected in the current Civil Society discourse simply because their work is not related to democracy, but they are amongst the same group whose objectives are to achieve changes for the improvement of marginalised people's livelihoods.

Furthermore, even within the framework of democracy oriented groups, some traditional types of grassroots activities are often neglected, Kasfir and Maina argue that the conceptualisation of Civil Society often excludes less formal methods of associational activities along with ethnic clan, and kinship relationships, which have a long history in Africa (Kasfir 1998; Maina 1999). Tripp gives a warning of the risk of exclusion in the Civil Society discourse. In her discussion on women and political space in Uganda, Tripp argues the necessity of expansion of the concept of



Civil Society because the current popular Civil Society discourse fails to recognise these women's informal activities to improve their life socially, economically and politically as part of Civil Society activities (Tripp, 1998).<sup>31</sup>

These problems are not be those of the concept of Civil Society but those of donors and their application of the Western based concept of associational life towards people's engagement in activities for change in different cultures. The reinvention of Civil Society to conceptualise civic engagement in social change has surely supported the activities of those people engaged in NGOs and grassroots organisations in many places in the world. However, at the same time, unfortunately, the concept has led to the monopolised application of Western values in these activities as well as to the exclusion of the activities outside the concept.

### 3.5. Conclusion

People's collective activities for mutual-help and self-help to solve their problems and to improve their livelihood have long existed in different cultures all over the world as discussed by many scholars (Kasfir 1998; Tripp 1998; Maina 1999; Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000). The work of development NGOs might be inspired by started in the Western tradition of charity based on Christianity, but the idea of such collective activities is not only a Western commodity but a globally shared one. One of the credits of Western NGOs would be their conducting such collective activities for mutual-help and self-help, which are often conducted in a very limited circle, in new ways that transcend national boundaries, and that disseminate these ideas to the international community. As their activities progressed, the work of NGOs gained enough recognition in the international arena to involve governments and international aid agencies in such activities for mutual-help and self-help by people at the grassroots level. It can be concluded that the debate over the role of

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<sup>31</sup> In her article, Tripp points out the most women's organisations in Africa are informally formed and involved in a combination of wide range of activities from agriculture and community self-help activities. She argues that the current popular concept of civil society fail to recognise these groups due to the narrow definition of political engagement in the civil society discourse (Tripp 1998).

NGOs in the development discourse has helped to deepen an understanding of people's mutual help and self-help activities, and that the idea of Civil Society has been successful in conceptualising people's collective action on a much wider scale.

The problems, however, are that too much emphasis has been placed on Western values in understanding the concept of Civil Society, and that people's collective action for improvement through NGOs and other organisations has been equated with the activities of Civil Society by many donor agencies. As a result, such people's action for mutual help and self-help has been confined to Western valued Civil Society and has been used as a means to realise Western values in other parts of the world through international development aid. Not all the donor agencies and all the people involved in international development have the intention to use people's collective action in such a way, but the idea of democracy especially is too good for many people living in democratic society to deny. Above all, it would be very difficult for Westerners to deny the Western notion of democracy because it would mean the disownment of their own society and social system. Such acceptance of democracy can be considered as a strong factor to support the emphasis on NGOs' advocacy and lobbying towards governments in the South. In addition to the hesitation to avoid causing do harm and the consideration given to shifting initiatives to local people as Ellerman explains in his book on autonomous development (Ellerman2006), the rightness of the support of democracy has accelerated the trend for NGOs to leave their activities at the grassroots, seeking a bigger impact for their activities in the national and international arena. This has created other problems.

The crisis in NGOs has taken place in circumstances in which NGOs are leaving activities at the grassroots to move towards advocacy in the national and international arena. Most of the NGOs suffering from this crisis are small NGOs, which comprise the majority of the world NGO community. These small NGOs are less influential in advocacy and less capable in large scale emergency relief activities because of their scale. Recent increased demand for humanitarian emergency assistance after natural disasters and conflicts in East Asia and the Middle East has re-confirmed the importance of NGOs' relief activities, and such humanitarian relief activities are recognised for their significant role in the donor discourse together with

advocacy work and service-delivery contracted out by donor agencies. However, long-term community development activities by small international NGO through their own initiatives have not yet returned to the mainstream donor discourse.

However, despite the current trend which has negative effects on small NGOs, there have been some positive changes happening in the attitudes of donor agencies towards Northern NGOs. Amongst a very limited number of donors, DFID has revised its funding criteria for its funding scheme, the Civil Society Challenge Fund (CSCF), so that smaller UK NGOs together with other CSOs could get funding for their service delivery projects.<sup>32</sup> The revision of criteria, which was made in the consultation with BOND, the UK umbrella organisation for CSOs, seemingly reflects a change at DFID resulting in recognising the role of smaller Northern NGOs, although its preference for the overall “rights based” approach of large international NGOs has not yet changed. DFID has prepared a funding scheme for smaller UK NGOs engaged in development activities, but it is not confident in the effectiveness of these smaller NGOs’ activities in development assistance. For DFID, smaller NGOs’ innovative projects are “relatively high-risk in terms of certainty of outcome” (DFID 2006:17). It is not only DFID which thinks this way, but also many other donor agencies would share the same notion concerning small NGOs. The information on projects by small NGOs is very sparse, and because of their size, the impact of their projects would be very limited in geographical scale. We are not sure how long DFID will continue to have this attitude towards smaller NGOs in the UK.

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<sup>32</sup> CSCF is a competitive funding scheme for the projects of “smaller and, increasing non-mainstream” UK CSOs launched in 1997. It took the “rights based” approach and the former criteria which allowed UK NGOs engaged in only support to Southern NGOs, but in 2004 the criteria were widened to include “innovative service delivery” and “service delivery in difficult environment”. The current criteria for CSCF are as follows;

- Improve the capacity of Southern civil society to engage in the local decision-making processes.
- Improve the capacity of Southern civil society to engage in national decision making processes
- Improve national linkages through global advocacy
- Improve national linkages through global advocacy
- Provide innovative service delivery
- Provide service delivery in difficult environments

In addition to the CSCF, DFID offers a larger scale of funding scheme, Partnership Programme Agreements, for influential UK CSOs, which include Oxfam, ActionAid, World Vision, and others (DFID 2006).

However, healthy government funding of NGOs, as their partners working together not to control, is crucial for people's action for improvement. From this point of view, the change in DFID's funding to smaller UK NGOs is a good step to re-think about the role of smaller NGOs based in the North as well as in the South in international development, because a role of smaller NGOs is still unknown in literature or even in reports by NGOs.

There are a myriad number of NGOs both in the North and the South, amongst which the majority are small organisations working at the grassroots level. It is these small NGOs which ensure that the NGO community is rich in diversity and represents the plurality of people's actions. The work of large and influential NGOs is certainly indispensable to an understanding of what people's collective actions through NGOs can achieve, but without information concerning the work of small organisations, we cannot have a full understanding of the ability and potential of NGOs as a whole sector. In the 1970s, when there were no such large and influential NGOs as there are now, people paid attention to NGOs' work with the slogan "Small is Beautiful", comparing small NGOs with governments and international aid agencies. In the current world, where both large and small NGOs exist, we need to pay attention to both large and small NGOs so that we can re-consider their role in international development.

## **Chapter 4. *Harambee*<sup>33</sup> (Self-Help): Community Participation in Education in Kenya**

### **4.1. Introduction**

Many societies in the world have their own style of mutual-help and self-help activities in order to improve their livelihoods as discussed in Chapter 3 on the activities of NGOs. Since 1998 Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo) has been working in Kenya. CanDo has put special focus on facilitating self-help efforts by local communities to improve their own livelihoods through its projects with local people. Without local self-help efforts, the activities of CanDo themselves would not work out at all. In this sense, an understanding of communal self-help in Kenya is critically important for an understanding of the activities of CanDo.

Like many other African countries, Kenya has a long tradition of community self-help in many aspects of people's livelihoods throughout its history, and education has long been "a communal concern" within this (Anderson 1969:106). *Harambee* (self-help) became the state philosophy under Kenyatta, and communal self-help efforts have been the principle vehicle in the expansion of a wide range of facilities in the local communities (Anderson and Anderson 1976; Mwiria 1990; Hill 1991; Barkan 1994; Nugent 2004). The most central in *Harambee* activities was education (Anderson 1971). Through heavy reliance on community participation in education through communal self-help efforts, Kenya has been successful in a

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<sup>33</sup> The term "*Harambee*" literally means "Let us pull together" in Swahili, and this philosophy has become the national motto since Independence. The *Harambee* philosophy represents the concept of self-help through working together and it has been used to refer to the strategy employed by Kenyans to initiate and develop various projects in the country

massive expansion of educational opportunities for children in rural areas as well as in urban areas even from the early years of the colonial period.

However, such community participation in education has not had only positive effects on development activities in Kenya. Although community self-help efforts played an important role in educational expansion as seen in the *Harambee* School Movement, Village Polytechnics, and *Harambee* Institutes of Technology, critical questions arose at the same time about both the effectiveness and fairness of community participation in education (Anderson and Anderson 1976). The problems of such community participation in education were strongly related to the way local self-help efforts were directed by national and local politics. Such national and local politics were strongly influenced by donor intervention for education in Kenya. The self-help efforts of parents and other community members cannot have been insulated from donor intervention as well as national and local politics.

In the previous chapter, we also looked at donor intervention in NGOs and other activities by citizens in the international arena, in which donor funding has a large influence over the direction of the activities of such organisations. In addition, when involved in international development assistance, community self-help efforts at the grassroots are often manoeuvred by national and local politics together with donor support to the country. This chapter looks at Kenya and seeks to shed light to self-help efforts by the community participating in education at the grassroots, in order to understand the challenges of self-help efforts in development activities in the community.

The main objectives of this chapter are to examine how the community has been involved in education, what role the community has been expected to play, how self-help efforts have been directed by national and local politics, and what influence have donor interventions have had over communal self-help efforts in education in Kenya. In doing so, this chapter will attempt to explore the strengths and limitations of donor intervention in self-help efforts by the community, which will help us to anticipate the environment in which the Japanese NGO in this research has been working (see chapters 7 and 8).

## 4.2. Community Participation: Concepts

“Community Participation” is one of the most popular terms in the current lexicon of international development. There has been increasing advocacy for community participation in policy documentation by governments and international aid agencies (Bray 2003). In the field of education as well, community participation in education is usually considered desirable in improving both the quantity and quality of education. However, the term has complexity to be interpreted in different ways according to the situations and contexts (Shaeffer 1994; Suzuki 2002; Rose 2003), and both of the words, “community”, and “participation”, have a variety of definitions and understandings. The concepts are used differently by various actors and are often inconsistent with one another, which would be problematic in understanding the real nature of community participation. This section will examine the concepts of these concepts before exploring the nature and values of community participation in the educational setting in Kenya.

### 4.2.1. Community

In understanding this concept, Bray has offered a clear explanation of the term “community”. According to Bray, the community demonstrates features as (1) a network of shared interests and concerns; (2) a symbolic or physical base; (3) extension beyond the narrowly-defined household; and (4) something that distinguishes it from other similar groups. Given these features he then introduces several types of community as important, which include geographical communities, ethnic and racial groups, religious groups, and communities based on shared family concerns, communities based on shared philanthropy (Bray 2000).<sup>34</sup> In addition to this category, it is also important to understand that some communities have formal structures such as religious groups, NGOs, and community-based organisations

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<sup>34</sup> Bray gives additional explanations of communities; geographical communities comprise individuals living in such small areas as villages, districts or suburbs; ethnic and racial groups emphasise one minority with self-help support structures; communities based on shared family concerns include Parents’ Associations in schools; and communities based on shared philanthropy are often operated by charitable and/or political bodies (Bray 2000).

(CBOs), and that these groups are increasingly prominent in using their voices and in their activities in the field of education. However, some communities do not have formal structures such as geographic communities and ethnic and racial groups, and it is difficult to clearly categorise people living in a particular area into a particular community. Furthermore, the perception of belonging may differ depending on individuals. Thus, the concept of community always carries ambiguity, and diversity in any town or village such as in terms of class would cut across the communities.

#### 4.2.2. Participation

Participation has also been a matter of great debate with different emphasis and implications not only within international development but also in education both in the North and the South. Some writers discuss participation in connection with influence, empowerment, and democracy, others with efficiency, decentralisation, and privatisation (Shaeffer 1994; Abagi and Odipo 1997; Condy 1998; Sayed 2002; Bray 2003). It is about a decade since that Nelson and Wright pointed out the two distinct definitions of the term; “participation as a means and as an end”, based on how participation is dealt with in development projects. (Nelson and Wright 1995).<sup>35</sup>

What Nelson and Wright focussed on is whether participants have the power of control over issues that affect them, and they accorded greater value to participation in which participants do have control. Shaeffer, based on the work of Arnstein (1976) and Hart (1992), in analysing participation, devised a ladder of participation with eight rungs, starting from the mere use of a service, going through involvement in contribution to materials/labour and consultation process to participation in implementation and decision-making (Shaeffer 1994). Shaeffer paid attention to the activeness and passiveness of participants. He viewed passive collaboration by participants as merely involvement so as to distinguish it from

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<sup>35</sup> According to the explanation by Nelson and Wright, participation is utilised as a means to accomplish the project more efficiently, effectively or cheaply, or is set up as an end so that the community or group can have control its own development (Nelson and Wright 1995)



participation which required a more active role by participants. Rose paid more attention to the ability to take part in decision-making and argued that participation without such ability to influence decision-making is “pseudo-participation” (Rose 2003).<sup>36</sup> Thus, the designation of an activity is different depending on the foci and the nature of the activity, but what is important in participation is that participants are able to obtain benefits for themselves through their participation, and that these participants are not utilised merely for the benefits of others.

#### 4.3. Education in the Early Years of Kenya

Education in the early years of Kenya was provided by the community. It aimed for “the physical, cognitive, and social development of children” from birth to the entrance of adulthood as discussed in Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCD)(UNESCO 2006:38). It was not until the nineteenth century that the idea grew that governments should be responsible for the provision of education, and most education, either formally or more informally, was provided by private individuals or religious groups (Bray 2000). Education in Kenya is not exceptional in this sense. Parents were responsible for educating their children until the time they became old enough to receive community education, and children were educated “in the family and clan tradition” (Kenyatta 1938:99). Like many other African countries, traditional Kenyan education was provided in informal ways by parents and community members so that children in the community could be equipped with life skills, moral and social knowledge, and values relevant to the society (Eshiwani 1993).

Formal education in the early years of Kenya was also delivered by the community, yet in this case the community which contributed to education in pre-colonial years in Kenya was limited. According to a limited number of researchers, the history of formal education in Kenya dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> Century

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<sup>36</sup> Rose explained “genuine” participation as “the ability to take part in decision-making and governance, where all members have equal power to determine the outcome of decisions and share in a joint activity” (Rose 2003:47)

when Koranic Schools were created by the Muslim community (Bogonko 1990). By 700 A.D. Islamic influence had entered Kenyan education and Koranic schools provided Muslim education teaching the Koran and Islamic law to perpetuate Muslim faith and culture as well as literacy and numeracy. Muslim education was more formalised than indigenous African education. However, this education in Koranic schools was basically for Muslims in Muslim communities, and other Kenyans other than Muslims did not have access to this type of “formal education”. Another formal education by religious groups was reformulated with the advent of missionaries in the country at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and Muslim education was overwhelmed by Western education when Christian missionaries set up mission schools.

#### 4.4. Education for Control

Community participation in education can be also observed during the colonial period in Kenya. One type of community participation was made by the religious community through mission schools, and another was by the indigenous community through village schools. The critical role in the provision of education in this period was played by missionaries. However, the main feature of this community participation was that the religious community, mostly Christian missionaries, became gradually involved in the policy of the colonial government.

In addition to evangelism, education by missionaries provided literacy education as well as skills training in areas such as carpentry, agriculture, and training for nurses and teachers, based on their aims and the needs of the local community (Jones 1925). The missionaries introduced literacy to Africans as well as practical skills relying on the self-help efforts of local communities to provide the mission schools (Anderson 1971). On the other hand there was a strong demand from European settlers to train Africans as semi-skilled artisans for cheaper labour to serve their business, and so there was political conflict amongst missionaries, European settlers and the colonial government (King 1971a). This vocational training to nurture semi-skilled artisans was to be controlled by the colonial government through grants-in-aid from the 1910s.

Supported by the Frazer report of 1909, which urged the colonial government to take a greater responsibility for education and recommended an industrial curriculum as the basis of education for Africans through accepting racial segregation in the provision of education in Kenya,<sup>37</sup> the colonial government established the Department of Education and started to take control over the mission schools through the provision of grants-in-aid to some mission schools but only for industrial education (King 1971b; Sheffield 1973). Taking the lead role in education, the colonial government set up the education board and the 1924 Education Ordinance codified the principle of cooperation between missionaries, the colonial government, settlers, and other interest groups in education in Kenya. Thus a partnership was formed between the religious community and the colonial government, and education was provided predominantly by the missionaries in accordance with the colonial government's policy with its strong focus on industrial education (King 1971b). Although there were some mission schools which pursued their own educational policy without receiving grants-in-aid from the colonial government, many seemed to be ready to reach a compromise with the government (Jones 1925). This colonial government control along with the demands of white settlers for cheap labour thus led to the loss of diversity in meeting the various demands of local people for a better education in this period.

The partnership between the colonial government and the religious community was made against the background expectation that the religious community to finance education, and the colonial government was successful in controlling the education provided by the religious community through the provision of meagre grants-in-aid. In addition to the religious community's financing of education, the local community was also to be involved in the financing of the education. In place of imposing an education tax on Africans, the 1925 Grant-in-aid

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<sup>37</sup> The principle of racial stratification in education was became the major element in educational development in Kenya. Education was provided differently in the curricula and expenditure to the four races; African, Asian, Arab, and European. (Bogonko 1990; Eshiwani 1993). There was large difference in the quality in each education. According to the Phelps-Stokes report, the per capita government expenditure for education was 12 pounds for Europeans, and 2 pounds for Asians and practically negligible for Africans in 1923 (Jones 1925:118).

Committee recommended the policy of encouraging financing by the local community. In this manner, the financing of education under colonial rule relied heavily on contributions from the religious community with support from the local community.

Running in parallel to the shift of the colonial government to the policy of an ethnically segregated system and to control of mission schools through grants-in-aid for industrial education, there was a move amongst Africans to set up education facilities in their villages which put a heavy emphasis on literacy. The movement started in Nyanza with the acceptance of the local administration which needed to secure a supply of clerks and orderlies (Anderson 1970). In Kikuyu communities, the move to establish their own schools was more clearly a demonstration of frustration against the mission controlled education and with settlers' intentions to alienate the land and force the Kikuyu into rural labour (Anderson 1971); this led to the Kikuyu Independent School Movement in the 1920s.<sup>38</sup>

In response to these local initiatives concerning participation in education, the colonial government proceeded to develop controls to restrain these village schools and independent schools by two means; firstly through financing and secondly through regulation. Firstly, regarding financing, there was no access to grants-in-aid for the village schools, which were available for industrial education in mission schools. Creating of these schools was totally community's efforts. Secondly, strict regulation was placed on the management of these schools. In 1924 all power was passed into the hands of the education boards through the Ordinance for issuing certificates to teachers, the registration and inspection of schools, control over the opening and closure of schools, and levying of local education rates. In 1931, the Independent School Movement yielded to the local education boards, and all village

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<sup>38</sup> The movement was led by such Kikuyu leaders as Harry Thuku and Jomo Kenyatta with emphasis on the importance of learning English and being well educated in order to fight for their land in courts and to obtain representation directly to the British Government (Thompson 1981). It aimed to provide knowledge for the improvement of African's understanding and status and functioned ultimately as a route to independence (Anderson 1970)

schools and independent schools were placed under the control of the newly formulated district education boards. Through these ordinances, community schools were placed under the control of the colonial government in terms of their opening, teaching staff, financing and curriculum and were subjected to inspection by the local administrations. As a result, although village schools could be established through self-help efforts by African communities with the approval of the colonial government, their participation was limited to financing the schools and so failed to meet the aspirations of people in the African community for the education they wanted due to heavy control by the colonial government.

#### 4.5. Education for Nation Building: the Harambee Secondary School Movement

##### 4.5.1. *Harambee* Spirit

One of the most prominent examples of community participation in education during the Post-Independence period in Kenya would be the “*Harambee*” schools built on the initiative of local communities. The *Harambee* philosophy was not new at the time of Independence, and communal self-help labour was very common in the colonial period before the philosophy was established as the national motto in 1963. At Independence Jomo Kenyatta addressed *Harambee* philosophy as the basis of the development strategy and called for cooperation amongst Kenyan citizens for this approach to nation building. Since then, *Harambee* has become the crucial factor in initiating a whole range of development activities by local communities in projects on health, roads, and water. Amongst these development activities, *Harambee* contributed most significantly to the expansion of educational opportunities, especially for secondary education (Anderson and Anderson 1976; Bogonko 1990; Mwiria 1990; Hill 1991; Eshiwani 1993).

The background to the enthusiasm of local communities for building secondary schools lies in the drastic increase in primary school leavers due to the massive expansion of primary education in the last few years of the colonial period (Hill 1991; Cooksey *et al.* 1994). Local communities which sought secondary education started to create secondary schools with the same methods used to create

primary schools during the colonial period. Most of these *Harambee* schools were managed by the local leaders who formed local committees organising financing, recruiting teachers, and other school issues. Community members contributed financing and labour for the construction of secondary schools in their communities.

However, the real initiatives for the expansion of secondary education in the *Harambee* School Movement become a critical issue when community participation in secondary education is analysed. At the time of Independence, local demand for primary education was still high although the massive expansion of primary education had been realised towards the end of the colonial regime. This can be seen by the fact that the promise of universal free primary education by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) was a high priority in the 1963 election campaign (Sheffield 1973). However, the enrolment rate in primary education at Independence was not high enough for many poor parents to be worried about opportunities for secondary education. Sifuna presumed the figure for the enrolment rate in primary education in the Post-Independence period ranged only from around 50 percent, highlighting the difficulty in collecting the exact figures for the primary school enrolment rate amongst the eligible primary school population in the Post-Independence period (Sifuna 1980).

Thanks to the *Harambee* of local communities, there was 321 percent increase in the enrolment in secondary education (Sifuna 1980), whereas the enrolment in primary education increased only by 43 percent between 1963 and 1968. The number of primary schools only increased from 6,058 in 1963 to 6,135 in 1968 (Eshiwani 1993). In such circumstances where demand for primary education was still considered high and parents and communities were responsible for financing the construction of primary schools, local communities directed much of their self-help efforts towards secondary schools rather than primary schools which seemed more directly relevant to community members in rural areas. Although *Harambee* spirit should come from the initiatives of local communities, the focus of local self-help efforts seemed to be based on initiatives from someone else other than community members.

#### 4.5.2. Development Thinking and the Focus on Secondary Education

The focus on secondary schools in the *Harambee* School Movement is considered to be closely related to government policy influenced by modernisation theory as well as domestic political and social situations. In the 1960s, “modernisation theory”, using the concept of “modern industrial society”, dominated the mainstream thinking in development, and the focus of international development in education was on secondary and higher education in the name of “manpower” development to meet high-level skill gaps. Under modernisation theory, the main issue of the development strategy in Kenya was to transform a rural economy into a modern productive economy, with heavy emphasis on the creation of highly skilled manpower in rural areas. The role of education lay in a response to the problem of a great shortage of skilled manpower for a modern economy in the country. Education after Independence was directly linked to economic development for nation building (King 2005a), and the focus was placed on secondary and tertiary education for economic development in concordance with a range of reports and resolutions from donor agencies.

The emphasis on secondary education in development thinking can be seen in the reports of a conference initiated by UNESCO as well. In 1961, the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa was held in Addis Ababa with the aim of discussing the priorities and educational needs from the perspective of economic and social development in Africa. The Addis Ababa Conference concluded that there was greatest urgency for secondary and post-secondary education (UNESCO 1961). Along with the conclusion of the Addis Ababa Conference, the Griffiths report, which was conducted at the request of KANU<sup>39</sup> in 1962, also recommended that the highest priority should be placed on the development of secondary education. After Independence, the first Education Commission in 1964, which was called the Ominde Commission, emphasised the

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<sup>39</sup> In the election manifesto in 1962 KANU proclaimed education as a high priority in building an independent nation, and through a series of documents following the election manifesto, the government confirmed the role of education as a means of facilitating economic growth and providing skilled manpower for the economy of Kenya.

expansion of education to provide necessary manpower and the importance of the expansion of secondary schools in the country for that purpose. Thus, the emphasis in educational development was placed more on secondary education, and the contribution to education by local communities was also directed towards financing the expansion of secondary education rather than primary education, which would have been more relevant to poor people in the community.

This emphasis on secondary education in the *Harambee* School Movement was caused by the international and national politics in the development arena and, “reflected the way in which community attention focused outwards from the local community towards the mobility system” (Anderson and Anderson 1976:167). As a result, the efforts of local communities were skewed towards the expansion of opportunities for secondary education, which led to competition amongst communities (Mwiria 1990),<sup>40</sup> and the *Harambee* School Movement was to be out of control in the government education planning by domestic elements.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.5.3. The Political Nature of the *Harambee* School Movement

The most critical element providing the driving force to create the *Harambee* School Movement was political competition initiated by national and local politicians. Behind the competition amongst local communities in establishing *Harambee* secondary schools was the issue of local politics in the *Harambee* School Movement (Anderson and Anderson 1976; Bray *et al.* 1976; Mwiria 1990; Hill 1991).

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<sup>40</sup> Mwiria quoted the speech by Jomo Kenyatta at the official opening of the Githunguri *Harambee* secondary school in 1964, arguing Jomo Kenyatta who stressed the importance of *Harambee* had become more cautious about the competition amongst the communities (Mwiria 1990). The speech cited by Mwiria is as follows:

Self-help schemes must not be regarded as being in competition with what the government is trying to do. The people of this country must accept the guidance and advice given by officials of the Ministry of Education. Unless this is done, then the country's education might be in jeopardy. I would like to stress at this point, the need for the planning and control of our educational expansion (Kenyatta 1964, quoted by Mwiria 1990:353).

<sup>41</sup> Since Independence, the number of self help secondary school had increased rapidly and the percentage of *Harambee* schools reached 61.6% in 1974. (Keller quoted by Eshiwani, 1993). According to Eshiwani in 1985 the out of the 2,059 registered schools in the country, 706 were *Harambee* but assisted by the government with teachers and 638 were purely *Harambee* schools



For Mwiria, its highly politicised nature was a special feature of the *Harambee* School Movement in Kenya (Mwiria 1990) and, for Hill, the *Harambee* School Movement was an important field for politics and was always interconnected with politics to a certain degree (Hill 1991). The *Harambee* School Movement became a tool for both local politicians who were seeking votes in their constituencies and local businessmen who were keen on the benefits derived from the projects. Although blatant political activities in the *Harambee* School Movement were prohibited by the government, local communities were keen on enlisting supports from local politicians and businessmen because the success of *Harambee* schools largely depended on their donations and capability to attract local or foreign funds.

Based on his anthropological research at a village in Kitui District in the mid-1970s, Hill scrupulously illustrated the mechanism of the politicisation of the *Harambee* School Movement at a local level, especially in fund-raising and initiating a project (Hill 1991).<sup>42</sup> In a *Harambee* school project, the initiating role was played mainly by the role of local administrative officers, who were responsible for the encouragement of *Harambee* projects, as well as local Members of Parliament (MPs). The *Harambee* committee organised was in charge of fund-raising, leaving the management of the school to a different body, normally to the church.<sup>43</sup> The fund-raising for the project was conducted mainly in three arenas of social involvement; community members' obligatory contributions assessed by head,

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<sup>42</sup> According to the survey by Hill, there were 19 *Harambee* Secondary Schools established in Kitui during the years between 1966 and 1974. Half of these *Harambee* secondary schools were established through initiatives by chiefs and the other half were initiated by Members of Parliament. The growth was mainly concentrated in the years of Parliamentary election campaigns. 13 out of 19 *Harambee* Secondary Schools were established in the year or year after a general election between 1966 and 1974. The years 1966, 1969, and 1974 were general election years and four *Harambee* schools were established in 1966, five in 1970 and four in 1974. In 1969 there were no *Harambee* schools established, but there were three in the year before and five in the year after. Hill explained that the Parliamentary election campaign generated extensive assistance and funds for *Harambee* schools, and spurred on their growth (Hill, 1991: 226).

<sup>43</sup> The historical engagement of churches in school management was the logical basis for *Harambee* school management by churches, although the government specified *Harambee* schools should be secular and did not regulate the management of schools by churches. It was quite often the case that the management of the school by churches was conducted in such a way that headteachers, who were the main people responsible for the management of schools, were sent by churches (Hill, 1991).

donations from local notables especially on *Harambee* Days,<sup>44</sup> government-licensed fund-raising rallies; and aid from external agencies, which included assistance from other governmental departments, commercial firms, NGOs, and international aid agencies. The contributions by members of the community were assessed and supervised by the administrative officers at the village level. There was no exemption for any villagers. Community members were also required to provide labour with the rationale that their contribution in terms of finance and labour would provide educational opportunities at the secondary level for their children, which was almost irrelevant for poor families whose children did not even complete their primary education.

#### 4.5.4. Problems of *Harambee* Secondary School Projects

##### *The Misuse of Funds*

The process of fund-raising for *Harambee* schools described by Hill was assimilated into the argument by the Andersons; “the movement has gradually become an extra form of tax collection” (Anderson and Anderson 1976: 171), and the projects themselves fell into manoeuvre by politicians aiming for votes in election campaigns. Furthermore, as a negative side of the *Harambee* Secondary School Movement, Bray and others portrayed the problems of the embezzlement of funds and materials or the drawing of benefits through making advantageous contracts with the people in charge of the funds and administration of the *Harambee* schools (Bray *et al.* 1976). This embezzlement of funds and materials was rarely prosecuted by members of the community due to the local power relationship so long as the projects were completed although this was inefficient.

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<sup>44</sup> The *Harambee* Days that Hill observed were held in the way of local festivals with entertainment such as songs and dances. The presentation of locally collected funds and competitive fund-raising were the highlights of the *Harambee* Days. Guests including politicians, and administrative officers made contributions publicly. The most prominent guests on the Day brought in contributions even from outside the community. The amount of fund-raising on *Harambee* Days was reported in the newspaper the days after (Hill 1991:238). Thus, *Harambee* Days provided politicians and administrative officers with marvellous opportunities to demonstrate their capability to the community, seeking returns from the community.

Similar processes of the politicisation of *Harambee* school projects described by Hill in the 1970s were still observed in self-help projects in different places a couple of decades after when the author was engaged in fieldwork in Kenya. Local MPs were still eager to be involved in self-help projects especially before general elections, implying the possibility of external funds for projects such as water projects and the opening of new schools. The more relevant the projects are to the livelihoods of the community, the more vulnerable they are to the power of local politicians. In addition, there are always rumours about the embezzlement of funds and materials in development projects in the community, which might make such corrupt actions, appear normal to local people. The details of the current situation concerning the politicisation of self-help activities in Mwingi are to be discussed in Chapter 8.

#### *School Management and the Quality*

The eagerness of local politicians and administrative officers to initiate *Harambee* schools left the issue of financial management to maintain the schools to the local community. Most of the *Harambee* schools were established in the hope of being selected as one of the *Harambee* schools taken over by the government.<sup>45</sup> Members of the community were encouraged to provide “pre-emptive local efforts” by the local leaders and officers in order to receive government aid for the schools in their communities, but many of them failed to do so (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974:256). Due to heavy dependence on local financing and lack of adequate government planning, the *Harambee* secondary schools found it difficult to meet recurrent costs, and the financial difficulties led to problems of a low quality of education. In order to control the growth and to maintain the quality of *Harambee* Schools, the Kenyan government took action requiring the community to gain the approval of the Ministry

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<sup>45</sup> The Kenyan government had pledged to take over Form 1 streams in some selected *Harambee* schools annually and to give government school status to those *Harambee* schools before the movement reached its peak. (King 1972; Mwiria 1990)

of Education and enforcing regulations for the registration of *Harambee* schools.<sup>46</sup> However, the regulations were not strictly enforced, and the growth of *Harambee* schools continued amongst communities which were unable to bear the burden of the cost of managing the schools properly, holding on the faint glimmer of hope for a take-over by the government. In such a way, the poorer layer of the community, who could not even send their children to the school, continued to be forced to contribute to “their” *Harambee* schools.

As a result, the management of the *Harambee* secondary schools was often handed to the church which had more financial resources than the community, but even the church, of course, could not properly respond to the rapid growth of *Harambee* secondary schools without any assistance from the government and other donors. Due to lack of steady financial support for recurrent costs, the low quality of *Harambee* secondary schools became more and more apparent to the public. In addition to their low quality, most of these *Harambee* secondary schools charged higher fees than government maintained secondary schools, sometimes as much as double the government secondary schools (Hill 1991). Thus, the effectiveness and fairness of *Harambee* secondary schools was increasingly open to question (Anderson and Anderson 1976), but *Harambee* secondary schools still continued to be actively constructed until the mid-1980s, when the then president Daniel arap Moi, in consolidating his political power, regulated *Harambee* activities in rural areas in order to “reduce the opportunities for Members of Parliament to perform acts of constituency service and thus maintain their political base” (Barkan 1994:25). This prohibition was matched by the national policy under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) from the aspect of cutting the expenditure for the expansion of

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<sup>46</sup> The regulations established by the Ministry of Education were as follows: “i) There had to be sufficient “feeder” primary schools in the catchment area to justify building a secondary school for local primary school leavers; ii) 40,000 Shs had to be raised in advance and buildings had to be provided for two-form intake, to a defined building standard; iii) the school had to be managed by a recognised church or lay organisation, which would be responsible for it in liaison with the *Harambee* committee (which organised the fund-raising and started the school) and the headmaster; (iv) there had to be an adequate water supply, access to roads, proximity to medical facilities and sufficient land for relevant facilities and future expansion (30 acres)” (Hill, 1991:217-8)

secondary schools. The *Harambee* School Movement was finally to see its end without the support of the government and donors, but the problems of these *Harambee* secondary schools were to remain unsolved in the hands of community members.

#### 4.5.5. The Attitudes of the Government

##### *Let the Harambee Projects Go*

These problems with *Harambee* secondary schools were already acknowledged by the government only one year after the government commenced encouraging communities to start *Harambee* secondary school projects. The Ominde Commission report, which was published in 1964, already acknowledged that communities were easily misguided towards tasks which surpassed their capability and resources, and expressed their concerns about the quality of *Harambee* secondary schools as follows:

... with certain exceptions, such (*Harambee*) schools fell so far short of the essential requirements of a secondary education that many parents, now making great sacrifices to pay the high fees, were destined to be bitterly disappointed. .. (we are) virtually certain that most *Harambee* schools, in their present condition, would produce disastrously poor results; while others were in grave danger of failing altogether from lack of funds, or teachers, or both. (Kenya 1964; para 601)

Knowing the problems of *Harambee* secondary schools in such early years, Ominde considered that, due to the constraints of the government budget, self-help by the community was indispensable to the Kenyan government in order to finance secondary education in Kenya in response to increasing numbers of primary school leavers. Addressing the urgent lack of highly skilled manpower and the importance of expansion of secondary education, the Ominde Commission proposed the necessity of registration of *Harambee* secondary schools and of control of *Harambee* secondary schools (Kenya 1964). Two years after the Ominde Commission, in 1966, Kenyan thinkers at the *Kericho Conference on Education, Employment, and Rural Development*, being aware of these problems with *Harambee* secondary schools, concluded that they would leave the movement to continue as before until they

should find an alternative to redirect the community contributions, reasoning as follows;

*Harambee* secondary schools, despite their well known limitations, are a heartening example of local initiative and surely contribute in some measure to filling the troublesome "teenage gap". Until there is something better to replace them, the Conference would hesitate to discourage them. They are, of course, still oriented to academic education - an alternative and expensive way of entering the "gamble". It would indeed be worthwhile if this considerable volume of private saving and investment could be redirected to training for rural development; but until the gamble loses its overwhelming attraction, this is not likely happen. It is the high prize which attracts parents, despite the long odds (Sheffield 1967:24)

Thus, priority was accorded to not damaging community participation in education, or more accurately, the community contributions to education, (which are arguably crucial for education in Kenya even now), rather than the quality of that education which the community had paid for.

In addition to these circumstances, the political nature of the *Harambee* Secondary Movement was another element for the continuation of the movement. As described in the previous section, *Harambee* secondary school projects were a political arena for Members of Parliament (MPs) to obtain votes from their constituencies. As with other *Harambee* projects in the unstable political situation after Independence, the government did not have power to prohibit projects promoted by MPs. Three years after the Ominde Commission, Ominde himself clearly mentioned in his paper for *the Kericho Conference* in 1966 that "it would be politically impossible to prohibit" the uncontrolled *Harambee* secondary schools (Ominde 1967:295). Anderson also described a situation in which an attempt to curb the new development of *Harambee* secondary schools by the government in 1967 failed due to more active engagement by politicians in education projects in the years before the general election in 1969 (Anderson 1973). The powerful engagement of MPs and local politicians in initiating development projects still exists in the current situation, as we will see in CanDo's projects in Mwingi. The way to cope with such politicisation of development issues is even now one of the big challenges for development projects at the grassroots.

### *Curb the Expansion*

In responding to a range of problems concerning *Harambee* secondary schools, the government showed its willingness to take action to provide *Harambee* secondary schools with certain level of assistance, but it was neither quick enough nor effective enough to solve the problems. Firstly, it was not until the 1970s that the Kenyan government clearly changed its attitudes towards *Harambee* secondary schools at the policy level. In the government's classification, secondary schools have been categorised into three types; aided, assisted, and unaided. Aided schools receive full government support through grants-in-aid and the provision of all the staff. Assisted schools receive partial support, normally in the form of qualified teachers, and quite often only one qualified teacher considered is sent as government assistance to these assisted schools. Unaided schools receive no support. More than 90% of unaided schools were *Harambee* schools (Mwiria 1990).

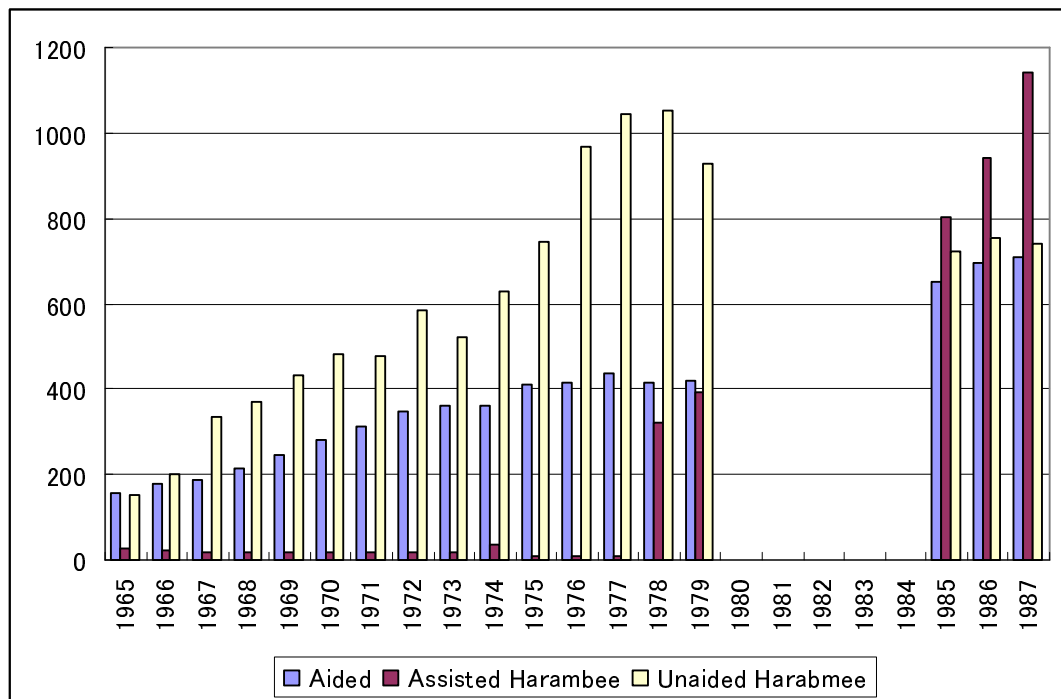
Whilst proclaiming its willingness to assist *Harambee* schools in the *1970-1974 Development Plan*, the government concluded that the number of *Harambee* secondary schools was sufficient in many areas and that many communities had been already discouraged from opening new schools (Kenya 1970). In the *1974-1978 Development Plan* published four years later in 1974, the government emphasised the need to curb the growth of secondary schools so as to cut government expenditure (Kenya 1974). Although the government decided to audit *Harambee* schools and introduced the Secondary Schools *Harambee* Package Programme<sup>47</sup> in 1975 to assist *Harambee* schools, many of these pledges of government schemes failed to be properly conducted (Mwiria 1990) under the governmental policy to reduce the expenditure on secondary schools.

Although it had started giving assistance to some of *Harambee* secondary schools from 1978, the government virtually did not cope with the problems of

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<sup>47</sup> Mwiria described the detail of the programme and other schemes, which included sending trained and qualified teachers, providing correspondence courses for the preparation of the Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations (KJSE) and providing opportunities for students with good results in the KJSE to join well-established government secondary schools (Mwiria, 1990:353-354).

**Figure 1. The Number of Secondary Schools (1965-1987)**



Source: composed by the author based on the data from Kinyanjui1974  
and Mwiria1990 (Kinyanjui 1974; Mwiria 1990)  
data missing between 1980 and 1984



*Harambee* Schools to leave the problems until *Harambee* projects were politically prohibited in the mid-1980s. The prohibition of *Harambee* secondary school projects was favoured by the donor community under SAPs on the basis that *Harambee* Secondary Schools were squeezing the education budget (Barkan 1994). The timing of these government policies on *Harambee* secondary schools coincided with the reports on education in growth published by international aid agencies; the World Bank and the ILO.

In 1969, the World Bank published *Cost-benefit Analysis in Education: a Case Study in Kenya*, concluding that sending children to primary schools may not have been the best investment for Kenyan families and the Kenyan government on economic grounds. Three years after the World Bank's report, in 1972, the ILO published *Employment, Incomes, and Equality*, which shed light on the importance of the informal sector for development. In discussing post-basic education and training in Kenya, King points out the impact of these reports on the discourse in the international community and on national policy (King 2006b). These reports by the international agencies were compatible with the trends in the paradigm of development aid in international society, the focus of which was moving away from economic growth to basic human needs and from the formal economy to the nonformal economy. In the field of education, the trend was moving away from formal secondary education towards nonformal education. In concordance with international trends, community contributions were also directed towards nonformal technical and vocational education in the 1970s, which led to the mushrooming of Village Polytechnics (VPs) and later to Youth Polytechnics (YPs) all over the country.

#### 4.6. Education for Self-Reliance: Technical and Vocational Training

##### 4.6.1. Focusing on Nonformal Education

Disillusionment with formal education grew due to youth unemployment in the 1970s. As employment in the formal sector did not grow as expected, it became obvious that the rate of absorption of youths into the modern sector was unable to cope with the increased number of educated youths caused by the expansion of both

primary and secondary education. The unemployment of these educated youths increasingly became a serious problem for the government. A large number of youngsters moving towards big cities to search for jobs created another problem of rural-urban migration. Against these backgrounds, community participation through self-help efforts was now to be redirected to nonformal education by government policy and donor intervention; from *Harambee* secondary schools to polytechnics.

Both *Harambee* Institutes of Technology (HITs) and Village Polytechnics (VPs), which were later called Youth Polytechnics by the government, were created in order to respond directly to these problems with the assertion that informal sector jobs and community self-help were a solution to the problem. The Village Polytechnic Programme was to “plug the gap between the number of primary school-leavers and the inadequate level of opportunities in education, training, or employment” (Dey 1990:180), and skills development in VPs was an alternative to secondary schooling (King 2006b). For Court, Village Polytechnics were a potential experiment and “the antithesis of the formal secondary school system” in Kenya (Court 1974:221). The programme underwent massive expansion over the years with donor assistance, and there are still more than 600 Polytechnics all over the country.

The idea of HITs was parallel to that of VPs, but providing a higher level of vocational training targeted at secondary school leavers on a much larger scale. With massive donor funding to the programme, HITs were created through the direct involvement of MPs, administrative officers and local leaders into self-help efforts by the community in the programme. However, the results of this creation of a small number of large scale HITs as well as the mushrooming of the polytechnics were exactly the same as those of *Harambee* secondary schools; the failure to respond to local needs and to achieve the initial objectives of solving the unemployment problems amongst educated youths. There are several causes of the failure of these programmes, but both cases clearly present problems of the political nature of the facilitation of self-help efforts in development projects and challenges in facilitating self-help efforts by the community as well as the difficulties of large scale national programmes in responding flexibly to local needs.

#### 4.6.2. Basic Needs and Rural Development

Behind the redirection of community self-help efforts towards nonformal education (NFE) lay a transformation in development thinking in the period as well. In the 1970s the international development discourse underwent a shift to the so-called basic needs approach, paying attention to the most exploited people, the poor people in rural areas. The ultimate goal of development was defined as “to raise the productivity of the poorest so that they were brought back to the economy system” (Rist 1997:163). This attention towards the rural poor coincided with the domestic problems of youth unemployment in rural areas. Influenced by the theoretical concept of the basic needs approach, international aid agencies became anxious to have interventions at the grassroots with NGOs. As a result, there was a growing interest in NFE and NGOs, which provided the as external background to the upsurge of Village Polytechnics in the 1970s.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the concept of NFE was introduced by several authors,<sup>48</sup> and NGOs were considered important players in NFE. Stimulated by these authors, NFE became a major fashion amongst the donor community, so that they could take more community-based approaches to rural development and to meeting the basic needs of the poor through these channels; NFE and NGOs. In addition to such multilateral agencies as the ILO, UNESCO, and the World Bank, bilateral agencies also followed the same track. Accordingly, considerable amounts of funding became available to technical and vocational training in a different track from general education (Benavot 1983; Bray 1985).<sup>49</sup> Donor assistance took the form of support for non-formal education and training components of sectoral projects under the jurisdiction of ministries other than

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<sup>48</sup> One of the most important contributions was Coombs et al’s definitions of formal, nonformal, and informal education (Coombs et al 1973), which is still widely quoted and cited by many scholars and practitioners.

<sup>49</sup> According to the research by Psacharopoulos, in the mid-1960s, the share of World Bank loans for vocational programmes in developing countries was over 40 percent of the total educational funding, the same the proportion allocated to general education. By the late 1970s, the loan allocation for technical and vocational training had increased to 53% while the general programme received only one-third (Psacharopoulos 1980:11 cited by Benavot 1983:65)

education. Kenya was not excluded in that trend. It was not until 1984 that the Kenyan government set a focus on education for self-reliance and integrated the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) for employment in its formal education system, although the recommendation had already been made in *National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies* in 1976. Not surprisingly, this curriculum change was not put into practice in the vocationalisation of general education until the 1980s when the World Bank and other organisations lost their enthusiasm for vocational education and training. Until then, the focus on TVET was mainly put into practice at Village Polytechnics under the Department of Economic Planning and Development,<sup>50</sup> departing from mainstream education under the Ministry of Education in Kenya.

#### 4.6.3. Village (Youth) Polytechnics

The origin of Village Polytechnics (VPs) lay in the activities of local NGOs in Kenya. Even at the beginning, however, the programme was considered as a pilot project by the Kenyan government with the intention of scaling up the programme. The programme was first started by NGOs to work closely with local communities to meet local needs for vocational training, and later VP projects were widely conducted within the framework of the governmental planning all over Kenya. The case of VPs gives us another good example of the way in which community participation in education was misdirected by the government and of difficulties of the scaled-up projects, which were conducted with government control in meeting local needs at the grassroots.

#### *Origins*

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<sup>50</sup> The name of the Ministry in charge was often changed in the course of Development Planning. In the development Plan in 1970 VPs were under the department of Community Development and Social Services and in 1974 it was in the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services. In 1979 it was in the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

VPs were initiated in 1966 by the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK), one of the largest and most influential NGOs in Kenya (Barkan 1994), which addressed the problems of youth unemployment and the irrelevant education provided by formal schooling for rural youths. The concept of the VP Programme was to establish low-cost post-primary training centres which were initiated, financed, and managed by local communities, in order to provide primary school leavers with practical skills for self-employment in the rural economy. The curricula of VPs generally included such subjects as carpentry, masonry, dressmaking, knitting, and typing, and were expected to be flexibly designed in close contact with local needs and job opportunities. There is very little information available concerning how the communities were engaged in the VP Programme at the grassroots. Before the active involvement by the government in the early 1970s, however, the process of establishing VPs was born quite informally out of local needs and church organisations, based on the consultation<sup>51</sup> by NCCCK with church sponsored groups in various areas in the country (Sifuna 1980).

#### *The Government Take-Over*

Although VPs were initiated by NCCCK, the programme itself was very much experimental for the Kenyan government from the beginning. The government, which was seeking an alternative to redirect community contributions from secondary schools, considered VPs as a pilot project as early as 1966. The report of *The Kericho Conference* analysed the idea advocated at the conference as follows;

Another idea [than *Harambee* Secondary Schools], strongly advocated by some Conference members is the Village Polytechnic. The case for simple craft and commercial courses at the village level, by whatever name it is called, is extremely strong. This appears to be an idea worthy of testing on a pilot scale, including experimentation with fusing the Polytechnic idea with some existing *Harambee* schools; it would be essential to gain more practical experience before embarking on a national campaign to establish such institutions. (Sheffield 1967:24)

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<sup>51</sup> The consultation with the NCCCK was carried out in such a way that the idea for a project was taken to the NCCCK working committee to examine the possibilities of establishment, and guidance was given in order to develop the plan in practice and to obtain finance for it (Sifuna, 1980: 119).

Four years later, in 1970, with the expectation of donor assistance for NFE, the Kenyan government decided to take action through the Department of Economic Planning and Development to set up the Government framework to launch the Polytechnic Programme, and put VPs under the supervision of “District Development Centres”<sup>52</sup> (Kenya 1970). Since then, there has been a great shift of initiative in launching the VP Programme from church-based NGOs to local communities (Sifuna 1980). Although the Kenyan government launched the VP Programme all over the country in succession to NCCK, the way the Kenyan government conducted the Polytechnic Programme was very much the same as the *Harambee* Secondary School Movement. The government had a control over staffing and decision-making about courses to be provided to students of VPs (Dey 1990), but the management of the VPs was left to local communities. The government has supported the VPs only through the allocation of recurrent costs, mainly for teachers’ salaries, and all the other responsibilities for running VPs were handed to local communities. As a result, VPs were to suffer from the same problems as *Harambee* secondary schools did earlier.

### *Problems of Village Polytechnics*

The government take-over of the VP Programme removing NGOs from the Polytechnic Programme brought the rapid expansion of the projects,<sup>53</sup> but, at the same time, this programme was to have some fatal shortcomings regarding the quality of VPs and the outcome of the projects. Firstly, the training given in VPs came to lose its flexibility of courses for their trainees. The initial objective of VPs was to provide training for self-employment which responded to local needs and

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<sup>52</sup> *Development Plan for 1970-1974* defined the role of “District Development Centres” as “a base for the co-ordination of all extension services, and the staff of the centre will teach on residential courses, extension programmes and help supervise other rural educational facilities such as the Youth Centres and Village Polytechnics”.(Kenya 1970:525)

<sup>53</sup> For example, the Kenyan government created a plan to increase Village Polytechnics in number from 75 in 1973 to 250 in 1977 (Kenya 1974).

situations. However, the rigid governmental control over the curricula of VPs led to the loss of this flexibility, and so the programme departed from its initial objectives.

In addition to inflexibility, poor quality of training meant that VPs failed to equip their trainees with practical skills responding to local needs. As a result, VPs lost mass support to their training and were increasingly attached to the formal trading certificate system (Dey 1990; Oketch 1995; Haan 2001). VPs were designed to provide an alternative education for drop-outs, but their trainees came to be more concerned about certificates than acquiring practical skills to start self-employment. Haan has analysed the causes of these problems in VPs as; (1) lack of clear vision of the role and purpose of the institutions amongst many management committees, and (2) lack of enough finance to equip vocational training properly, arguing that the increased role of and decreasing contribution from the government was responsible for the loss of the initial focus of VPs (Haan 2001). This analysis by Haan certainly describes the causes of the failure of VPs to achieve their objectives, but the problems of VPs throw up a fundamental question on the nature of large scale governmental projects: are large scale governmental projects able to keep enough flexibility to meet local needs as NGOs do at the grassroots?

In discussing the quality of vocational training, King argued that NGOs were successful in reaching local disadvantaged groups to provide good quality training while national schemes found it very difficult to penetrate into that level (King 1996). The example in VPs seems to provide some evidence for the latter part of his argument. The problem of VPs would lie more in the nature of large scale national schemes than in the financing of the institutions and the vision of management committees. What then was community self-help for in this VP Programme? Why were the management committees not able to have a clear vision about their projects? If the government had been able to provide more funding to VPs, would VPs have been successful in achieving their initial objectives?

VPs were considered to be born out of the community's enthusiasm and needs, but questions remain, "Were they really so?" "What did Self-help mean in this movement?" The example of *Harambee* Institutes of Technology illustrates more clearly the nature of *Harambee* in the local community.

#### 4.6.4. *Harambee* Institutes of Technology

The *Harambee* Institute of Technology (HIT) Programme was launched in order to respond to the unemployment of secondary school leavers in 1971. Both HITs and VPs were firstly categorised as NFE and a huge amount of funding was available for communities to initiate the projects.<sup>54</sup> Because of its large scale and the necessity of a large sum of investment for the projects, only a small number of HITs were established. By 1973 there were 17 proposals<sup>55</sup> to establish institutes (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974), and by 1984 15 HITs were established with a total enrolment of 3,900 trainees (Oketch 1995). The problems of HITs were very similar to those of *Harambee* secondary schools in their political and social nature (King 1972), as well as to those of VPs. For Oketch, HITs were launched in the spirit of “Self-Help” and have been successful to the extent that they have greatly added to the number of employable youths with the skills to become entrepreneurs (Oketch 1995). Most of the graduates of HITs were oriented towards formal sector jobs and failed to become self-employed due to lack of initial investment for the business. However, for Oketch, the failure was due to the scarce government and donor funding, which was beyond the HITs’ scope (Oketch 1995).

Here again, projects initiated by local self-help were analysed as a failure due to lack of government and donor funding, implying that donor and government funding was key to the success of self-help efforts by the community. However, the real problem could lie in lack of government planning and future prospects for the programmes, as King pointed out in 1972, only one year after the launch of the HIT programme (King 1972).<sup>56</sup> The implication of such analyses as Oketch’s and Haan’s

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<sup>54</sup> The total budget for HITs from 1974 to 1978 (Kenya 1974) was £600,000 and from 1979 to 1983 was £1,015,900 (Kenya 1979).

<sup>55</sup> Those proposals were made from Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nurang’a, Nyeri, Embu, Meru, Yatta, Monbasa, Kajiado, Kericho, Nakuru, Kihancha, Kisii, Kisumu, Kaimosi, Kakamega and Sang’alo (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974).

<sup>56</sup> In his preliminary notes on HITs in 1972, King had already pointed out the problems of HITs with a detailed description of the procedures for fund-raising and planning of HIT projects in



that government and donor funding is key to the success of the projects initiated through local self-help efforts is very much misleading in understanding the problems of these *Harambee* projects. We need to look at the projects from the viewpoint of the community, the initiators of the *Harambee* projects.

### *HITs for the Community*

HITs might contribute to their graduates' education by providing skills and there may be other outcomes which we can not fully evaluate yet. However, the perception of the outcome of HITs is totally different especially when light is shed on the programme as viewed by the community. In their research conducted during the synchronised period of HIT planning, Godfrey and Mutiso as well as King discussed the political economy of HITs, paying attention to fund-raising campaigns for HITs (King 1972: Godfrey and Mutiso 1974). What their research illustrated was exactly the same situation as had occurred in the *Harambee* Secondary School Movement, but on a far larger scale.

Being different to secondary schools, post-secondary training institutes require wider catchment areas from which to collect students and far greater financing to establish an institute.<sup>57</sup> As a result, *Harambee* was conducted at the provincial level with the enormous level of the involvement by the provincial administration as well as politicians at the ministerial level. King provided a detailed description of involvement of such influential politicians as Paul Mboya and Mwai Kibaki in the Luhya project (King 1972). The amount of money to be raised was one

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some ethnic communities. Concerning the political debate surrounding HITs, King addressed lack of careful planning as follows;

What was noteworthy in addition was the almost complete lack of comment, throughout this extensive debate, on the rationale of such a college. There was no examination of the employment needs for skilled artisans or technicians in the province; rather, the technical college had become an unquestioned good ... (King 1972:180).

<sup>57</sup> According to the research by Godfrey and Mutiso, the initial target for fund-raising was mostly in the range of 10 to 30 million shillings in 1973, while, for example, the total amount of *Harambee* contribution for all purposes in Eastern Province was about 7 million shillings in 1971 (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974 :261).

of the reasons for the involvement of the provincial administration in fund-raising for most institutes:

...The District Commissioner sets targets for each of his district officers, who pass similar instructions on to Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs. In each area minimum scales of contribution are laid down. In Murang'a, for instance, every male is expected to pay at least 10 shillings and every female is 5 shillings. In addition all employed persons are expected to pay according to salary on a sliding scale ranging from 40 shillings for those earning 200 shillings per month to 1000 shillings for those earning 5,000 shillings. There are also specific contributions expected from special categories, e.g. tea growers; coffee growers; milk cooperatives; *Harambee* groups; secondary, primary and nursery schools; bus-owners;... matatu (taxi) operators; etc (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974:261-2).

The fund-raising measures for the HIT projects in the local communities illustrated by Godfrey and Mutiso were greeted with little community enthusiasm, and King also described the same situation in his writing on HITs (King 1972: Godfrey and Mutiso 1974). The projects were certainly locally oriented, but much of the enthusiasm for the projects was from local administrators and politicians. As Godfrey and Mitiso noted when they called the HITs the "last stage of *Harambee*", the fund-raising system became a form of regression taxation. (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974:272). Most of the contributors to HITs were poor people many of whom could not send their children even to secondary education, which raises the critical question of the rationale for their involvement. A large amount of money was collected to establish post-secondary training institutes for only a small number of trainees coming from richer families; often as low as annual enrolment as 300 per institute. Why did the poorer people in the community need to contribute large amounts of effort for only a small number of students from richer families? The next section will look at the incentives for these HIT Projects.

### *The Incentives of HIT Projects*

The main incentives and objectives for politicians and administrative officers to be involved in the HIT projects were mostly the same as in the case of *Harambee* secondary schools: to stabilise their personal political position and to attract external support. Thus, the *Harambee* activities led to competition amongst

regions and ethnic communities as to who would be able to initiate the greatest and most successful project and where (King 1972; Anderson and Anderson 1976). The only difference for HIT was that HIT was too large a project to be initiated by a single individual and involved the conflict over the leadership even amongst *Harambee* groups, and that HITs sought support from foreign donors, while *Harambee* secondary schools sought governmental support. Due to the large scale of the projects and donor funding, especially from Denmark, political leaders at the ministerial level could not but be involved in the projects.

*Harambee* projects were often criticised for leading to lack of coordination and a disregard for government planning, but in the case of HITs, it was government officers and provincial administrative officers themselves who were willing to promote and be fully engaged in the projects, definitely not community members at the grassroots. In seeking funding from donors for NFE, governmental and provincial administrative officers initiated community projects through quasi-taxation of the community and those people in comparatively richer areas were successful in establishing institutions, which led to a claim that *Harambee* projects only created inequality and disparity amongst the districts. Although there were voices to question the projects even at the time of implementation, these voices were often ignored just because they were not politically influential (Godfrey and Mutiso 1974). There is also the question of who would hear these voices and where. Furthermore, what measures could be taken in order to respond to the voices? Considerations to these questions would be very crucial in development assistance, particularly in conducting projects at the grassroots through facilitating local self-help, which is one of the main themes of this study.

#### 4.7. Universal Primary Education: the Role of the Community

##### 4.7.1. Systemising the Community Contribution

###### *The First Free Primary Education*

After Independence, more attention concerning community self-help was paid to *Harambee* secondary schools, VPs, and HITs. However, primary education

was also and is, even now, supported by community self-help efforts. The difference between community self-help in primary schools and other *Harambee* schools lies in the fact that primary education was left to as a local responsibility from the beginning of education after Independence, while the government took more responsibility for establishing some of the other schools. The Kenyan government took some responsibility for primary education of course, but it was limited only to curriculum development, the supervision of the Kenya Primary Examination and coordination with local authorities (Kenya 1965), and later sending a small number of teachers to schools. All the other areas of primary education were left as local responsibilities, and local communities were expected to be responsible for financing the facilities and running costs although there was no clear indication of their role at the first stage.

It was in 1974 that the responsibility of the community in primary education was clearly stated in the official Development Plan, when Free Primary Education (FPE) was partly in practice. The Kenyan government had been investigating the feasibility of conducting Free Primary Education, which was people's wish, since Independence. In its first trial of FPE, the government abolished school fees for the first four years of primary education; Standard I to IV in 1974, and up to Standard VII in 1980 (Williams 2005). In abolishing school fees, the government stated the bodies responsible for financing primary education clearly: the central government allocated the finance only for teachers' salaries, school equipment, and boarding grants, while the community and local governments were responsible for the erection and maintenance of physical facilities and grounds (Kenya 1970). Although local governments were named as responsible bodies, the entire financial responsibility was placed on the community, including parents, in the form of development fees, whereas local governments took the responsibility for supervision. With the FPE policy, parents did not have to pay school fees, but there were many complaints that charges for physical facilities were often higher than school fees. More serious was the burden for parents in poor rural areas where there had previously not been enough schools and funds for building schools whereas parents in rich urban areas

like Nairobi and Mombasa did not have to pay building funds, which added another inequality.

### *The Establishment of Parents' Associations and Development Funds*

After the FPE programme for Standard I to IV, the Kenyan government implemented another programme for primary education and seemingly took this opportunity to affirm the role of the community in primary education and to systemise contributions from the community into the financing of primary education. In 1979, the Free Milk Programme was introduced. In the same year, the Presidential Directive of 1979 established the role of development funds and required primary schools to establish Parents' Associations<sup>58</sup> to take charge of collecting development funds through *Harambee* in the communities (Olembo 1982 cited by Eshiwani 1990). With the Presidential Directive, contributions from the communities were woven into the school management system, although Parents' Associations had no legal status. Parents themselves became the main body in charge of money collection for physical facilities and some of the other activities of the schools in their communities. The financing burden was supposed to be handed from parents to the wider communities and some support from missionaries and NGOs was expected for some schools in some areas. However, still the main contributors were members of the community; and that was parents in many cases.

FPE and the systemising of community financing of primary education brought a prompt deterioration in quality of primary education. With the introduction

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<sup>58</sup> "The headmaster of the school shall be secretary to the committee and shall attend all meetings and take part in the deliberations, but shall not have the right to vote....The functions of the committee shall be (a) to advise the chairman and secretary of the district education board or the municipal education committee on matters affecting the general interest of the school and the welfare of the pupils, (b) to collect and account for any funds accruing to the school approved by the district education board or the municipal education committee, (c) in respect of a sponsored school, to maintain reasonable religious traditions of the school, (d) to advise the chairman and the secretary of the district education board or the municipal education committee on the staffing needs of the school, and (e) to provide buildings, including houses and furniture, from funds collected by the committee after approval by the district education board of the municipal council." (Kenya 1980)

of FPE in 1974, the enrolment of pupils rose nearly 80%, and the school milk programme in 1979 added a further increase in the enrolment. The classrooms were packed with an increased number of pupils and there was a desperate need for more classrooms, more desks and more teachers, but the government only shouldered the responsibility for hiring teachers whereas it was the communities that were required to respond to other needs. The same phenomenon had occurred in Tanzania in the 1970s as well. Wedgwood questioned the sustainability of Universal Primary Education (UPE), pointing out the deterioration in the quality of primary education in Tanzania after UPE (Wedgwood 2005). The deterioration in the quality of schooling after FPE was apparent not only to parents but to everyone in the society as well. In order to make FPE successful, sufficient preparation regarding conditions within and outside of schools prior to the policy is indispensable, and such preparations should be made not only by the government but also by other players, as we have learned from our experiences in the past.

#### 4.7.2. Structural Adjustment Programmes and Cost Sharing

As was planned in the first free primary education programme, school fees were abolished up to Standard VIII in 1985, but, soon after that, the idea of cost-sharing was introduced due to the debt crisis and SAPs in the mid-1980s. For the next 15 years, SAPs put African countries under the rigid control of SAPs over their spending on social services, especially education and health. In 1988 the World Bank published *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* and the idea of cost-sharing and user fees in education was introduced in Kenya, where cost-sharing in education had been virtually implemented for parents and the community before the World Bank report. Consequently, in addition to their contributions in terms of finance and labour for facility construction such as classrooms, kitchen, teachers' rooms, and their accommodation, parents and communities were again officially required to make more contributions to education for their children this time by donors. Through Parents' Associations and School Development Funds, parents had to pay charges for school fees including examination fees and other school activities as well as textbooks, stationery, and uniforms for their children. Responsibilities for financing

the supplementary supply of teachers were also placed on the shoulders of parents. Due to lack of teachers in many primary schools, especially in rural areas, Parents' Association often decided to hire teachers at the expense of parents' contributions.<sup>59</sup> In addition, houses, stationery and transportation fees for business trips for teachers, and even the running cost of divisional education offices, which, of course, included stationery, transportation fees, and other miscellaneous spending for education officers,<sup>60</sup> were also financed by money collected from the parents of the primary schools in each division.

A survey was conducted by CanDo in 1999 to explore the cost of sending children to primary schools in Mwingi District. The smallest annual expenditure on primary education amongst the families interviewed was KSh. 3,984 for two children (Fujita 2000). The BBC also reported that families living in the slum in Nairobi needed to spend about KSh 3,700 annually for primary education for a child (BBC, 2003). This expenditure was extraordinary high for poorer families, considering that the average monthly salary for a housemaid or a watchman in the Mwingi town was about KSh 1,000 (Interviewed on 2nd September 2003). Thus, under the cost-sharing policy, parents were required to meet more and more costs to finance primary education, often more than their earnings, which led to the low enrolment and high repetition rates throughout the 1990s.

These expenses required the approval of the School Committee and Parents' Association, but in many cases the secretary of the School Committee, the headteacher, dominated the meeting and gaining approval from the School Committee was not difficult as long as the headteacher felt the necessity of the action. There were always stories of the misuse of these funds by headteachers, education

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<sup>59</sup> These teachers are normally called PA (Parents' Association) Teachers whereas the teachers employed by the government are called TSE (Teacher Service Commission) Teachers in Mwingi District where the author conducted field work.

<sup>60</sup> This was identified by interviews with education officers in Mwingi District in July 2003, the year when Universal Free Primary Education Policy started in Kenya. As a result, all collection of money from parents was prohibited. As the allocation of the budget extended only to primary schools, and district education offices; the education officers complained at the time of the interviews that there was no financial support from the government, and that therefore they needed to pay their own money to do their tasks.

officers and even chairpersons as Bray identified in the 1970s (Bray *et al.* 1976), and money collection from parents was to be officially continued until the Free Primary Education Policy of 2003. The heavy burden of the fees and charges for primary education in addition to the bad quality of schooling led to the high drop out rate and a decline in enrolment rate. Over the 1990s the gross enrolment rate in primary schools continued to decline, from 105.4% in 1989 to 86.9% in 1999, and as many as 53% of pupils did not complete primary education up to Standard VIII in 1998 (Nzomo *et al.* 2001). Under the allegedly corrupt Moi Government for which many donor agencies except those in the UK were hesitant to provide development aid, the decreasing trend in the enrolment in primary education continued until the government fell in 2002.

#### 4.8. The Current Situation in Mwingi

##### 4.8.1. New Free Primary Education

In December 2002, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government was elected and FPE was restarted in 2003 as was pledged in the election manifesto. In January that year, the beginning of the school year in Kenya, the government instructed primary schools that any money collection from parents was prohibited, whatever the purposes were, and that schools should accept anyone who wished to enrol in the school. At the start of 2003, the gross enrolment rate grew up to 104%, of that in 2002, an increase in pupils of 1.3 million (World Bank 2003b). As a result, the quality of primary education again deteriorated rapidly. In most primary schools, especially in poorer areas, classrooms were packed with a sudden increase in pupils, and the insufficient numbers of classrooms and teachers became urgent issues for the government in maintaining FPE.

However, this FPE was also highly dependent on donor support as donor agencies restarted aid to support FPE. In the election manifesto, NARC estimated that the government would need Kshs 2.3 billion to finance FPE (Kshs 400 per pupil), but it became apparent that a greater budget was necessary to conduct FPE in reality. Fortunately, being in favour of the new regime, international aid agencies and donor countries expressed their willingness to contribute large amounts of money to finance



**Table 1. An Example of the Allocation of the FPE Budget.**

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>Instructional Materials (per pupil)</b> | <b>KSh 650</b> |
| Textbooks                                  | 360            |
| Reading Materials                          | 210            |
| Reference Books                            | 55             |
| Stationery                                 | 15             |
| Chalk and Register Books                   | 5              |
| Wall Maps and Charts                       | 5              |
| <b>Operational Cost (per pupil)</b>        | <b>KSh 370</b> |
| Cook and Watchman                          | 112            |
| Repair                                     | 127            |
| Activities                                 | 43             |
| Maintenance                                | 29             |
| Electricity and Water                      | 10             |
| Telephone and Communication                | 22             |
| Transportation                             | 21             |
| Contingency Cost                           | 6              |

Source: produced by the author based on data collected through school visits in 2003

FPE. To support FPE the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) agreed to provide US\$0.2 million grant in addition to a US\$15 million loan and UNICEF to provide US\$2.4 million grant, with which the government provided every primary school with KSh 28,000 as a Stop-Gap Fund in January and February, 2003. After this, the World Bank decided to provide a US\$50 million grant, DFID to provide an additional US\$20 million grant for instructional materials, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to provide US\$10 million through DFID.

With this funding from the World Bank and DFID, the Kenyan government provided primary schools with KSh 1,020 per pupil, and George Saitoti, the then Education Minister, outlined the details of the FPE budget for primary schools through the major Kenyan newspapers in May 2003. With this notice in the newspapers, the details of the FPE budget were clearly disclosed to the Kenyan people, so that parents could tell what they expected to obtain from the FPE. The expenditure of the FPE budget was specified in detail, and about 60% of the expenditure was for the purchase of instructional materials and stationery. There was not much discretion in the allocation of the budget for each primary school, and the allocation was instructed to be disclosed to parents. Table 1 is an example of the allocation of the budget.<sup>61</sup>

The allocation of the budget was heavily focused on the purchase of instructional materials. This was due to the specific focus of DFID's additional funding for FPE on instructional materials and the decision of the World Bank and CIDA to integrate their funding into DFID's support to FPE. The notice placed by Saitoti in the newspaper was exactly the same as the budget allocation in the project appraisal of supporting the Kenya FPE made by the World Bank. In his first speech at the State opening of the Ninth Parliament on 19<sup>th</sup> February 2003, President Kibaki proclaimed the intention to invest in building classrooms and education facilities as

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<sup>61</sup> The data was collected through several school visits from July to November 2003. There was small difference in the amount spent on each item amongst schools depending on their situation. The table was produced from the data from Nyamogo Primary School in Homa Bay District, Nyanza Province.

the target area of FPE (Kibaki 2003), but the blueprint produced by the World Bank did not contain enough budgets for building classrooms in 2003. Donor agencies which supported FPE did not seem to pay very much attention to the conditions in schools (Sawamura 2005). As the deterioration in the quality of education became an increasingly serious issue, the government tried to correct the popular perception that FPE meant that parents had no obligation to contribute anything for their children's education. Thus, the government was to explain that the FPE policy did not hamper the communities' efforts in the development of educational facilities. With this practical permission for money collection from parents by the government, parents were again involved in *Harambee* to finance education for their children.

#### 4.8.2. The New Role of the Community

With the arrival of FPE, there was a change in community participation in education. In addition to conventional "*Harambee*" style of community participation, another role was created for parents, which is monitoring the FPE fund, especially with regard to instructional material procurement. Prior to FPE the UK government had been implementing projects to support primary education in targeted disadvantaged districts since 1992; through the Strengthening Primary Education (SPRED) Projects<sup>62</sup> and the Primary Schools Management (PRISM) Project. The aim of these projects was to raise the quality of teaching and learning in primary schools through Teachers' Advisory Centres (TAC) for in-service teacher training, providing key educational materials, and community participation in school management. Through these projects, a system for the procurement of textbooks at school level was established in the school environment; the implementation of a new textbook policy, liberalised textbook preparation and publication, the financial decentralisation of textbook procurement to school communities, the establishment of another School Management Committee for instructional material selection, the

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<sup>62</sup> SPRED was extended to three phases; SPRED I, II, and III. I and II put their focus more on TACs and the in-service teacher training in the key subjects (Maths, Science, English, and Kiswahili) and III has had greater focus on textbook support.

formulation of government approved textbook lists, and the establishment of direct funds transfer to schools via the commercial banking system<sup>63</sup>. The projects have been extended countrywide from the targeted areas after FPE started.

Various workshops on capacity building for education officers, headteachers and school management committees were held in many places at various levels in order to provide knowledge on the procedure for the procurement of textbooks, including bank accounts, money withdrawal, the selection of textbooks and even the maintenance and repair of damaged textbooks. Parents were considered as crucial in textbook procurement. Without approval from and the presence of the School Management Committee, headteachers could not obtain the necessary funds from the school bank accounts. Posters and fliers were posted in district and area education office, saying it was parents' responsibility to take care of textbook maintenance.

This type of community participation seems effective in making sure textbook funds reach pupils in the right manner. With the strict monitoring by parents, it seemed very difficult for headteachers and education officers to misuse funds and the funds reached children as textbooks and other instructional materials. However, the question remains how long parents can participate in monitoring the implementation of educational funds for children. Even after finishing the textbook procurement, which would be completed in 2006, can the community participate in other areas of financial management in schools without donor assistance? Furthermore, the involvement of communities in financial management places a heavy burden on both parents and headteachers. In order to make this type of community participation take root, the enthusiasm and empowerment of parents to fight against corruption at the grassroots is surely required so as to make FPE sustainable.

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<sup>63</sup> The members of a new School Management Committee created under the DFID project are in many cases the same as the conventional School Management Committee members placed by the Kenyan government. The reason DFID suggested the formation of a new school management committee for its is that DFID is not in the position to make additional roles in the School Management Committee created by the Kenyan government.

#### 4.8.3. Self-help Efforts in FPE in Mwingi

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Kenyan society has had a long tradition of communal help like other societies in Africa, which encourages self-help efforts by the community in various aspects of their livelihoods. Although these self-help efforts have often been politically manoeuvred especially in education, the community has not lost the traditional way of communal help in Mwingi. In Nuu Division, Mwingi District, Kenya, where CanDo has been conducting its development activities since 1998, self-help efforts by parents and the community were observed even after the FPE policy in 2003 when the author conducted her fieldwork. The situation described in this section is mainly drawn from the observation and analysis by the author in Nuu Division, and a similar situation was also observed in Mui Division neighbouring Nuu.

In Nuu, people encountered difficulties in maintaining the same standards in the quality of education in primary schools in their community, contribution from parents re-started after discussion with the teachers and the parents. Some parents took action to solve the problems faced by primary schools through building classrooms and arranging to hire extra teachers. More specifically, primary schools in Nuu were suffering from chronic understaffing due to the small size of each primary school. The overall teacher-student ratio in Nuu is not bad due to the small number of pupils in upper grades, but the average number of teachers hired by the government in a primary school in the division is about five, ranging from three to eight, which covered less than 80 percent of the classes. In this division the practice of multigrade teaching has not been observed in any primary school.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, even before FPE, primary schools in the division had a chronic shortage of teachers as there were at least eight streams in a school from Std 1 to Std 8. In order to fill in the gap, it was very common before FPE in Nuu to hire teachers using the contributions from parents. These teachers are called PA teachers as explained in a footnote in a former section in this chapter. The quality of these PA teachers in the

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<sup>64</sup> The reasons for mono-grading teaching in the division are discussed in chapter 7. (See Chapter 7).

division is not bad, because most of them have proper qualifications for teaching and normally are waiting for recruitment opportunities by TSC. There are quite a few TSC teachers who used to be PA teachers before being hired by TSC. The salary of PA teachers is not good, but these PA teachers consider the experience of being PA teachers advantageous in recruitment to TSC. Thus, there are more than a few TSC teachers who used to be PA teachers in Nuu. Therefore, although the salary is not good, there are many PA teachers who have proper qualifications as teachers and are very much enthusiastic about teaching children in primary school.

When FPE started, primary schools were prohibited from collecting any monetary contributions from parents and lost their financial resources to hire these PA teachers. The number of the pupils increased, but there was very little government assistance responding to the increase of pupils especially in 2003 and 2004. In such a situation, just after the announcement of FPE, parents were hesitant to provide any type of contribution in terms of labour or money, in the hope of government assistance for primary schools. However, when it was becoming apparent that they could not fully rely on the government for the improvement of the situation in primary schools, *Harambee* outside schools was identified as continuing. Hiring PA teachers restarted in many schools six months after the Free Primary Education Policy was launched in Nuu.

These self-help efforts by parents started at the school base. The schools in which the relationship and communication between teachers and parents was good seemed to have fewer difficulties in coordinating the self-help activities of the parents as well as of the communities. Parents' meetings for *Harambee* were held outside the school compound with the justification that *Harambee* was not undertaken just by parents but by voluntary contributions from the communities. Contributions were made both in labour and money for building temporary classrooms and hiring PA teachers in response to the increased number of pupils after FPE. The scale of the contribution is not clear, but in 2004 and 2005, 25 out of the 30 primary schools in the division hired one or two PA teachers, supposedly at the expense of *Harambee* by parents.

**Figure 2. Temporary Classrooms Built Solely through the Efforts of Parents in Nuu**



Source: Taken by the author in Kawelu Primary School<sup>65</sup> in Nuu on 2 October 2003

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<sup>65</sup> Kawelu Primary School is one the newest schools in Nuu Division, which was established in 1997. Even before FPE, the school did not have enough permanent classrooms for its pupils.

Such local self-help efforts by parents and the cooperation between teachers and parents outside of CanDo's projects could be considered, to a certain extent, as the impact of CanDo's projects in the division, which have put great effort into facilitating local self-help and promoting cooperation between teachers and parents in the primary schools in the division since 1998. Or, these self-help efforts might have taken place without any supports from outside. This study does not explore if such self-help efforts by parents and community members were conducted immediately after FPE in many other places in Kenya, because the purpose of the study does not lie in the evaluation of CanDo's projects. What is important is that as far as the money is properly used and they understood the necessity, self-help activities by parents to support education for their children survive as the community's choice despite the government prohibition.

#### 4.9. Conclusion

The history of Kenyan education is a history of *Harambee* (self-help) by parents and the community. It would not be too much to say that the education system did not function without such self-help efforts by the community. From the beginning of formal education during the missionary days, the community has supported education for children, desiring their well-being and success in employment. However, the series of experiences of education in Kenya reveal all the problems discussed in the academic discourse on community participation. Parental and communal participation through their self-help efforts was often conducted in the form of extraction of resources not only for their children's education but also for individual benefits in terms of political power and business. The definition of "community" at the policy level and in donor funding was not precise, which resulted in many projects being initiated by politicians and administrative officers, who were not interested in the management of the projects afterwards. In the cases of *Harambee* projects, which included not only *Harambee* secondary schools but other forms of institutes as HITs and VPs, these problems were especially apparent. Many of these schools and institutes were initiated by Members of Parliament (MPs) and even by administrative officers and ended up with poor quality education and poor management.

It is often argued that the *Harambee* School Movement failed due to the uncontrolled community demand. However, when projects were initiated by politicians and administrative officers, can we say that these projects were created to meet community demand? Rather, the failure of these schools could be concluded as the failure of the



government to control MPs and administrative officers or the failure of “decentralisation” of the government. We also need to recognise that the problems of these schools were caused because the government took decisions to accelerate the projects and to leave the problems even after the identification of the problems. Furthermore, these governmental decisions were heavily influenced by the discourse of the donor community and funding. As a result, the burden was placed on the communities and contributions from the community were consumed in vain although the initial objective of involving the community in education was very different from exploitation. The projects also failed to reach their goals.

These experiences confirm the vulnerability of communal self-help efforts to the power relations which exist at various levels in the community. For example, in the initiation of *Harambee* school projects, it would have been difficult for most community members to have a different voice to MPs and administrative officers, especially in rural areas where the relationship between politicians and their constituencies is far closer than in big cities. In conducting the projects, problems of the misuse of funding were often caused due to lack of power to monitor the people with more power, who might have been education officers in the districts, headteachers in the schools, or wealthy businessmen in local towns. In order to solve these problems, the empowerment of community members is crucial. Currently, there are several attempts by external agencies to listen to the voices of community members and to give them a certain level of authority to monitor the projects, but more ambitiously such power should not be given directly to community members by external actors, but should be fostered in the community. Otherwise, these attempts will be short-lived and merely lead to the utilisation of the community by the external agencies for their own projects. The realisation of the true sense of community participation through the self-help efforts of the community members, which means that the community participates for their own good, requires time and the high level of commitment and dedication to working at the grassroots. These are the challenges CanDo has been facing in its activities in Mwingi.

## **Chapter 5. Japan's ODA and its Philosophy of Self-Help: Who Has Made Japan's international cooperation?**

The objectives of Japan's ODA are to contribute to the peace and development of the international community and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity (MOFA 2003a:1)

### **5.1. Introduction**

NGOs are the outcome of complicated processes involving various factors and cannot be immune to the thinking and activities of other players in international development. Analysing development NGOs requires a close look at factors such as national, historical, and cultural conditions as well as international ideological trends, donor policies, and the NGO agenda, all of which interact with one another in complex ways (Tvedt 1998:4). Chapter 3 examined how donor agencies' policies and international ideological trends have influenced and formulated the activities of NGOs in the global environment of international politics. The current focus on democratisation and good governance has led many donor agencies towards policy support and to encourage the "rights-based" approach and advocacy work of NGOs in international development. Under the banner of Civil Society, many NGOs have become a means to bring donor-defined democracy to the recipient countries of international development aid programmes.

Unlike many other donor agencies, the Japanese government is one of very few countries which does not use the term 'Civil Society' in its development discourse. The attitude of the Japanese government towards Civil Society is considered to be related to its very minor interest in democracy assistance in through its Official Development Assistance (ODA). Although the Japanese government clearly expressed the importance of promoting democratisation together with a market-oriented economy in the previous ODA charter publicised in 1992 (MOFA

1992, 2003a), democracy assistance programmes in Japan's ODA have targeted mainly government institutions and government officers through workshops in the host countries as well as in Japan (JICA 2003), and the number of democracy assistance projects itself is not very large. The Japanese government funding has widened to assist NGOs working at the grassroots since 1989, but neither Japanese NGOs nor local NGOs seem to be expected to support Japanese democracy assistance programmes through advocacy in Japan's ODA. Rather, they have been encouraged to be engaged in project type programmes at the grassroots through government funding to these project type programmes by NGOs. This funding environment for NGOs created by the governments would be one the greatest differences between Japan and many Western countries which show increasing interests in NGO advocacy and lobbying activities in the South as discussed in Chapter 3.

The minor interest of the Japanese government in democracy assistance could be explained by the aid philosophy of Japan which respects the principles of non-intervention and of self-help efforts by the recipient countries. However, the attitude of the Japanese government to democracy assistance is also considered as being related to the strategy of the Japanese government concerning the use of its ODA in domestic and international affairs, and should be analysed from the perspectives of the political, social, and historical nature of ODA in Japan's international cooperation.<sup>66</sup>

In the current situation where most Japanese NGOs rely more heavily on the financial sources from the Japanese government in the framework of ODA than their Western counterparts,<sup>67</sup> the government modality and policies are more influential over the activities of Japanese NGOs, and understanding Japan's ODA is crucial in

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<sup>66</sup> Unlike many Western countries, both the Japanese government and Japanese NGOs prefer the term "international cooperation" to "international development aid". As the author considers the term to reflect the Japanese philosophy in international development, the term "international cooperation" will be used in the description of Japanese international development aid.

<sup>67</sup> The analysis of the heavy dependence of Japanese NGOs on government funding is deeply connected to Japanese culture surrounding public donation, and the issue of this dependency and donation culture will be discussed in Chapter 6 on Japanese NGOs.

understanding Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation. In addition, as Kenichi Ohno and Sawamura address, Japan's international cooperation has not yet been fully understood in the international community (Ohno 2001; Sawamura 2004). This is partly due to the difference of culture and language, partly due to the complexity of the Japanese system, and partly due to negligence by the Japanese government as well as Japanese academics in elucidating Japanese development thinking to the international community in the long period since the initial stage of international cooperation.<sup>68</sup>

Considering the situation and the nature of this study whose audience is expected to include non-Japanese who are not well conversant in Japan's ODA as well as Japanese people, this chapter will take a close look at Japan's ODA policy and its policy-making process together with the influence of the international community in order to explore the historical and cultural background of Japan's international cooperation, against which Japanese NGOs have conducted their activities, in detail. The focus of this chapter is on how political relationships with Western countries, especially with the U.S., have influenced Japan's ODA in the diplomatic use, and how the Japanese government utilises its ODA for the benefit of the Japanese economy within that framework. This chapter deviates a little from NGOs to Japanese official development. The government schemes for and relationship with Japanese NGOs are discussed mainly in the next chapter.

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<sup>68</sup> The frustration and desire in the Japanese development community concerning the clarification of the Japanese development assistance thinking has become apparent since the beginning of the 1990s when Japan became the largest donor in ODA (Ohno 2001; King and McGrath 2004). The Japanese government has put great efforts into disseminating the development thinking and experiences of Japan's international cooperation, including promoting Japanese academics as well as multilateral agencies to conduct research on Japan's international cooperation. One of such actions was to put pressure on the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD to produce international development targets (King 2006).

## 5.2. Japan's ODA: Features

### 5.2.1. The Overview

In discussing Japan's international cooperation, some authors indicate Japan's ODA has several salient traits, compared to the development aid of other donor countries. Kawai and Takagi identify the characteristics of Japan's international cooperation as; 1) a high proportion of loans, 2) the dominance of untied aid, 3) Asian orientation, 4) request-based assistance, 5) large project-based, and 6) a bilateral-approach rather than donor coordination (Kawai and Takagi 2004:69). For Izumi Ohno, these features are categorised into three: 1) geographic concern in Asia, 2) high priority on infrastructure development and 3) a broad aid menu, including loans (Ohno 2003). In addition to these characteristics, Kenichi Ohno indicates a strong focus on economic growth rather than poverty reduction (Ohno 2002). Sawamura points out the non-political dimension of Japan's international cooperation, arguing that, through the principles of non-political intervention and request-based assistance, Japan's ODA has enhanced the self-reliance of countries in the South by inducing their self-help efforts (Sawamura 2004). On the other hand, Japan's ODA has often been accused of being merely a means for the pursuit for its own economic benefits. Arase identifies five features of Japan's ODA as "(1) project orientation, (2) Asia orientation, (3) request-based procedures, (4) decentralised authority, and (5) case-by-case decision making", and argues that all of these are directly connected with Japan's commercial and economic interests in its ODA rather than enhancing self-help efforts by recipient countries (Arase 1994: 1977-8).

Interestingly, Japanese and foreign researchers point to almost the same features of Japan's ODA, but they have reached the opposite conclusions to each other. The philosophy of self-help efforts is understood as rooted in the respect for recipient countries own will in development, but the pursuit of Japan's own

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<sup>69</sup> Since 2003, the Japanese government has promoted coordination with other donors in such countries as Tanzania, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The shift towards donor coordination has been accelerated under the basic principle of partnership and collaboration with the international community in the revised ODA Charter.

economic benefit seems to imply the opposite. What causes such a gap in the interpretation of Japan's ODA? Is it because the philosophy of self-help efforts is only rhetoric, or because Japan's ODA is not properly understood in the international community? This section will take a close look at the characteristics of Japan's ODA in order to explore the ways Japan's ODA has been perceived both from outside and inside Japan and the perspectives necessary to understand Japan's international cooperation.

### 5.2.2. ODA Philosophy: Supporting Self-help Efforts

Japan drastically expanded the quantitative volume of its ODA in the 1980s and became the largest bilateral donor country in the 1990s. It was during this period that debates over Japan's aid philosophy became particularly prevalent in Japanese society. Sawamura argued that both the Japanese government and people were in need of "proper and understandable reasons" for providing ODA to the countries in the South. These frequent debates took place against the background idea that Japanese aid did not derive from Western charitable values based on Christianity, which were shared by many American and European countries, and sought an alternative rationale for giving aid (Sawamura 2004: 27). With this background, the Japanese government has gradually clarified the objectives of ODA to the international community since the late-1970s, and the Cabinet endorsed the first ODA Charter in 1992 and revised it in 2003. The revision in 2003 was made with regard to the change in the global situation surrounding ODA after the terrorist attack in New York in 2001.

#### *ODA Objectives*

The revised ODA Charter in 2003 declares that objectives to pursue the peace and development of the international community are also a means to ensure Japan's security and prosperity (MOFA 2003a). This is the first time that the Japanese government has referred to its own benefits in its philosophy of international cooperation. In 1978 and 1980 when the importance of Japan's ODA was increasing

in terms of both volume and significance in the international community, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) published its studies on Japan's ODA. The studies stated that ODA was conducted based on "international responsibility and humanitarian considerations" and that "ODA is Japan's single most important tool for contributing to further development of peace and stability in the international community" (MOFA 2005a:10). This was the first time that the Japanese government clarified its objectives concerning ODA, but it did not indicate its own interest in the statement of the time. However, this does not mean that the Japanese government has begun to pursue its own interest through its ODA only recently. Although Japan did not officially admit to utilising ODA for its own interests, Japan has been criticised for this since its debut in international development.

### *Self-Help Efforts as Disguise?*

Based on the above objectives, the new Charter defines the basic policies in carrying out ODA as (1) supporting self-help efforts of developing countries, (2) the perspective of 'Human Security', (3) the assurance of fairness, (4) the utilisation of Japan's experience and expertise, and (5) partnership and collaboration with the international community. Amongst these, supporting self-help efforts is considered to be the most important philosophy to Japan's ODA and has been consistent and unchanged for many years. As such it has been recognised by many writers (Rix 1993; Fujisaki *et al.* 1996-97; Sawamura 2004; Sunaga 2004; King and McGrath 2004). Kenichi Ohno argues that high priority was placed on assisting self-help efforts in the majority of Japan's ODA projects in East Asian countries in order to solve social problems (Ohno 2002). Furthermore, Sawamura has given a clear cultural explanation on the origins of self-help efforts in Japan's international cooperation, which are rooted in Japanese culture (Sawamura 2004). Thus, the philosophy of self-help is clarified and explained by both academics and the Japanese government. Most of the Japanese people who are engaged in international cooperation would agree with the explanation that "self-help efforts are more endogenous and participatory"; and "more bottom-up and process-oriented" as Sawamura explains (Sawamura 2004:32).

In spite of this, when we try to explore the way to put the philosophy into practice, such processes of supporting self-help are not as evident as described in the discussions of the philosophy itself. We find that tangible examples which put a focus on the practice and process of supporting self-help efforts through ODA are very limited in the literature. Most of the reports concerning the philosophy follow the outline of statements by MOFA, explaining that providing assistance on a request basis and the obligation to bear local costs reflect the stance of Japan's ODA in respecting self-help efforts of the recipient countries (Ohno 2001).

Due to the limited information on activities and processes of supporting self-help efforts through ODA, this explanation by MOFA is sometimes understood as merely providing a rationale for the justification of loans, and the philosophy itself is also argued to be mere rhetoric designed to disguise Japan's hidden objectives of pursuing its own economic growth.<sup>70</sup> Hook and Guan Zhang, for example, pointed out the continuing primacy of national self-interest in Japan's ODA and concluded that "the Japanese government looked to international cooperation as an instrument to promote its own economic revival in the 21st century" (Hook and Guan Zhang 1998:1066). These criticisms throw a question to the modality of Japan's ODA and to the principle of self-help efforts as its rationale as well.

As many authors have pointed out, the commercial and economic motives of Japan's ODA have been undeniably important elements in ODA. However, too much focus on only commercial and economic motives would also be misleading in gaining an understanding of Japan's international cooperation. In understanding Japan's ODA, Yasutomo urged caution regarding unilateral views on Japan's international cooperation, because such views ignore other important elements such as overall national objectives and diplomacy. Japan's "aid policy can no longer be

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<sup>70</sup> Many authors have long argued that Japan's real objectives for international cooperation have been to promote exports and to secure raw materials to support its economic growth from the beginning of Japan's international cooperation (Rix 1989-90; Arase 1994; Morikawa 1997; Eyinla 1999). Recent debates on the commercial motives of Japan's aid have been divided into two groups. Whereas some authors indicate that this commercial orientation of Japan's ODA was only during the initial era of Japan's international cooperation (Hirata 2002a; Kawai and Takagi 2004; Sawamura 2004; Nakao 2005), other authors argue its commercially oriented objectives are still dominant elements in Japan's ODA (Arase 1994; Hook and Guan Zhang 1998).



analysed solely by purely economic and commercial motives and becomes much more complex as it merges with overall objectives of Japan's foreign policy" (Yasutomo 1989-90:491). Sawamura also addresses the necessity of knowing Japanese society, culture, and values in order to understand the complex system of Japan's international cooperation (Sawamura 2003). The philosophy of self-help and the Japanese government's minor interest of in democracy supports also exist in a very complex system of Japan's international cooperation.

As Yasutomo and Sawamura argue, it is necessary to consider other elements in international politics as well as the Japanese culture and economy in order to understand Japan's international cooperation more deeply because international development assistance can not exist autonomously and has been very much influenced by political factors as well as the economy. Taking this into account, Japan's ODA, including its philosophy and attitudes to democratisation will be discussed after a close look at the system of Japan's ODA, in addition to examining the influence of international politics over Japan's ODA.

### 5.3. The System of Japan's international cooperation

#### 5.3.1. Complexity and Opaqueness in Implementation Processes

One of the elements which make Japan's ODA more difficult to understand is its complicated system of implementation and decision-making as well as its different financial sources. The complexity and opaqueness of its implementation process and decision-making are due to lack of a clear-cut centre responsible for aid policy (Rix 1980; Orr 1988; Rix 1989-90; Utsumi 2001; Kamibeppu 2002; Sawamura 2003). The programmes and projects under ODA are planned and implemented through as many as 13 ministries and agencies, which makes the process complicated. Kamibeppu points out, for example, that the responsibilities for decision-making in education assistance have been dispersed around multiple government agencies such as MOFA; the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT); the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA); the Japan Foundation (JF); and other small affiliated government agencies (Kamibeppu 2002). Due to this dispersed implementation process, the international

cooperation by Japan is for Rix critically underrepresented in its political system (Rix 1989-90).

However, the same level of responsibility is not shared amongst all of these ministries and agencies. The most influential are the three core ministries: MOFA; the Ministry of Finance (MOF); and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI). In addition, it is often emphasised that the rivalry between METI and MOFA adds complications to policy-making, as both of them attempt to gain different benefits for Japan according to the nature of the ministries (White 1964; Orr 1990; Rix 1993; Arase 1994; Hook and Guan Zhang 1998; Kamibeppu 2002). METI asserts aid policy from its viewpoint of promoting industry and commerce, whilst MOFA addresses the importance of diplomatic oriented policy in ODA. Different ministries and agencies share the responsibilities for implementation and decision-making with different financial sources. As White described the administrative system of policy making as “cumbersome” (White 1964), this complex system of implementation, decision-making, and financial sources of Japan’s ODA has not been changed since the initial era of Japan’s ODA in the 1950s.<sup>71</sup> Let us have a look at how the system in Japan’s ODA works.

### 5.3.2. Different Financial Resources

Japan’s ODA budget is funded from three types of financial resources; (1) the general account of the central government, (2) the Fiscal Investment and Loan Programme (FILP),<sup>72</sup> (3) Special Accounts, the trust funds from carry-overs from

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<sup>71</sup> On 28 April 2006, the Establishment of the Overseas Economic Cooperation Council was initiated by a Cabinet decision. Through the decision, the issues of overseas economic cooperation including ODA were to be discussed by the Prime Minister as chair and Chief Cabinet Secretary, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry as members (Cabinet of Japan 2006). Before the decision, the issues were discussed amongst 13 ministers and heads of agencies engaged in overseas economic cooperation. The number of ministries which discuss the issues in the council decreased, but the involvement of many ministries and agencies in ODA still continues at the time of writing.

<sup>72</sup> FILP is an off-budget borrowing and lending programme supervised by the Japanese government. The financial resources of FILP mostly come from postal savings deposits, postal

previous years, and (4) interest payments and repayments of principal on previous Yen Loan. As Table 2 shows, MOFA administers two types of ODA budget; the General Account Budget and the Project Budget. The General Account Budget is the one which is funded from the general account of the central government, and the Project Budget is the overall operational budget in which the budget funded from the other financial resources is added to the General Account Budget. Therefore, the Project Budget is closer to the finalised figures of Japan's ODA. Utsumi explains that it is Project Budget that is referred to Japan's ODA in real terms (Utsumi 2001); therefore attention should be paid to the Project Budget rather than the General Account Budget when discussing Japan's ODA.

A close look at the breakdown of each budget tells that the greatest difference in the overall amount can be accounted for by differing budget for loans, and that each budget for bilateral grants other than that for Technical Cooperation is identical. Within the Project Budget, excluding repayment, 48.1% was allocated for Yen Loan and 51.9% was for Grant Aid in 2004. Most of the financial resources for Yen Loan are not from the General Account Budget but from the resources which require repayment in the nature of its resources.<sup>73</sup> As we have said earlier, one of the criticisms of Japan's ODA is its high percentage of loans compared to other member countries in DAC.<sup>74</sup>

Utsumi explains that this large share of Yen Loan derives from geopolitical and historical aspects of Japan's aid, saying that Japan's ODA is mostly conducted in South East Asia where the demand for funds is higher amongst the recipient

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insurance premiums, and provident pension fund contributions which are entrusted by MOF (Kawai and Takagi 2004).

<sup>73</sup> According to the data from MOFA, 73.8% of Yen Loan budget was from the Fiscal Investment and Loan Programme funds (FLIP), and 19.3% was from government bonds in 2003 (MOFA 2004b). The distribution of the resources for Yen Loan does not largely change in each annual budget.

<sup>74</sup> The percentage of Grants in Bilateral ODA for the U.S., the UK, France, German and Italy were 99.4%, 90.1%, 84.5%, 87.1%, and 71.3% respectively whereas for Japan it was 46.8% in 2002/3. (MOFA 2005b)

**Table 2. Budget for Grant Aid (Project Budget)**

(billion Yen)

|   | FY<br>2004 | FY<br>2005 | FY05<br>(%) |
|---|------------|------------|-------------|
| Economic Development Assistance                                     | 116.7      | 160.7      | 91.00%      |
| General Grant Aid   | 126.6      | 121.8      | 69.00%      |
| Grant Aid for General Projects                                      | 78.4       | 75.5       | 42.80%      |
| Non-Project Grant Aid for Economic Structural<br>Adjustment Support | 27         | 25.5       | 14.40%      |
| Grant Aid for Grassroots Human Security Projects                    | 15         | 14         | 7.90%       |
| Grant Aid for Japanese NGOs' Projects                               | 2.7        | 2.9        | 1.60%       |
| Grant Aid for Scholarship and Research                              | 3.5        | 4          | 2.30%       |
| Grant Aid for Fishery   | 6          | 5.6        | 3.20%       |
| Cultural Grant Aid  | 2.4        | 2.4        | 1.40%       |
| Emergency Grant Aid   | 31.7       | 30.8       | 17.50%      |
| Aid for Increase of Food Production                                 | 15.4       | 15.9       | 9.00%       |
| Food Aid  | 10.4       | 10.9       | 6.20%       |
| Aid for Increase of Food Production                                 | 5          | 5          | 2.80%       |
| total for Grant Aid   | 182.1      | 176.5      | 100%        |

Note: As the figures in the table are rounded off, they do not necessarily add up to the totals.

Source: created by the author with the data from ODA White Paper (MOFA 2005)

**Table 3. The ODA Budget**

| Category | (billion Yen)  | 2002              |                    | 2003              |                    | 2004              |                    |
|----------|--|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|          |  | Project<br>Budget | General<br>Account | Project<br>Budget | General<br>Account | Project<br>Budget | General<br>Account |
| I        | Grant Aid  | 691.5             | 876.6              | 657.5             | 806.7              | 630.3             | 770.0              |
|          | 1 Bilateral Grants   | 573.6             | 599.2              | 547.6             | 558.9              | 527.9             | 529.5              |
|          | (1) Economic development aid                                     | 208.6             | 208.6              | 173.6             | 173.6              | 166.7             | 166.7              |
|          | (2) Aid for increase of food production                          | 23.5              | 23.5               | 15.9              | 15.9               | 15.4              | 15.4               |
|          | (3) Transfer to special fund for trade re-insurance              | 7.0               | 7.0                | 5.3               | 5.3                | 4.0               | 4.0                |
|          | (4) Subsidies to JBIC  | –                 | –                  | 30.0              | 30.0               | 30.0              | 30.0               |
|          | (5) Technical Cooperation  | 334.5             | 360.2              | 322.8             | 334.1              | 311.8             | 313.4              |
|          | 2 Subscriptions and contributions to International organisations | 118.0             | 277.4              | 109.9             | 247.9              | 102.3             | 240.5              |
|          | (1) Organisations of the UN International                        | 76.5              | 76.8               | 74.5              | 74.8               | 70.9              | 71.2               |
|          | (2) development financial institutions                           | 41.5              | 200.6              | 35.4              | 173.1              | 31.5              | 169.3              |
| II       | Yen Loan   | 219.1             | 780.8              | 200.3             | 753.1              | 186.6             | 712.6              |
|          | (1) JBIC   | 219.1             | 760.0              | 200.3             | 740.0              | 186.6             | 700.0              |
|          | (2) Others   | 0.0               | 20.8               | 0.0               | 13.1               | 0.0               | 12.6               |
| III      | Total  | 910.6             | 1657.4             | 857.8             | 1559.8             | 816.9             | 1482.7             |
|          | Repayment  | 0.0               | –380.1             | 0.0               | –402.8             | 0.0               | –422.0             |
|          | Net  | 0.0               | 1277.3             | 0.0               | 1157.0             | 0.0               | 1060.7             |

Sources: ODA White Paper, (MOFA 2004c)

countries, and that Japan has a history of developing its social infrastructure with loans from the World Bank and others (Utsumi 2001). However, the nature of its financial sources could be considered as another reason why the Japanese government has continued Yen Loan on such a large scale despite the long-term heavy criticisms by other donor countries of the low ratio of grants and the accumulation of debt. As the funding from FILP, which requires repayment, comprises the largest share of Japan's ODA, there is no other choice for the Japanese government but to utilise this funding in the form of loans. In such a financial situation, the only possible way of increasing the share of Grant Aid in Japan's ODA might be a decision not to use FILP for ODA, which would lead to a drastic decrease in the budget of Japan's ODA, as the General Account budget figures suggest. Arguably, such a decision would not be welcomed by the international community.

#### 5.3.3. Different Responsible Bodies in Different Schemes

Japan has expanded its international cooperation since its first engagement in the field in the 1950s to become the largest donor of foreign aid within the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) up until the turn of the century. Japan's ODA has been conducted under the name of economic cooperation according to the definition of DAC, comprising bilateral grants (Grant Aid and Technical Cooperation), bilateral loans, and financial subscriptions and contributions to international aid agencies.

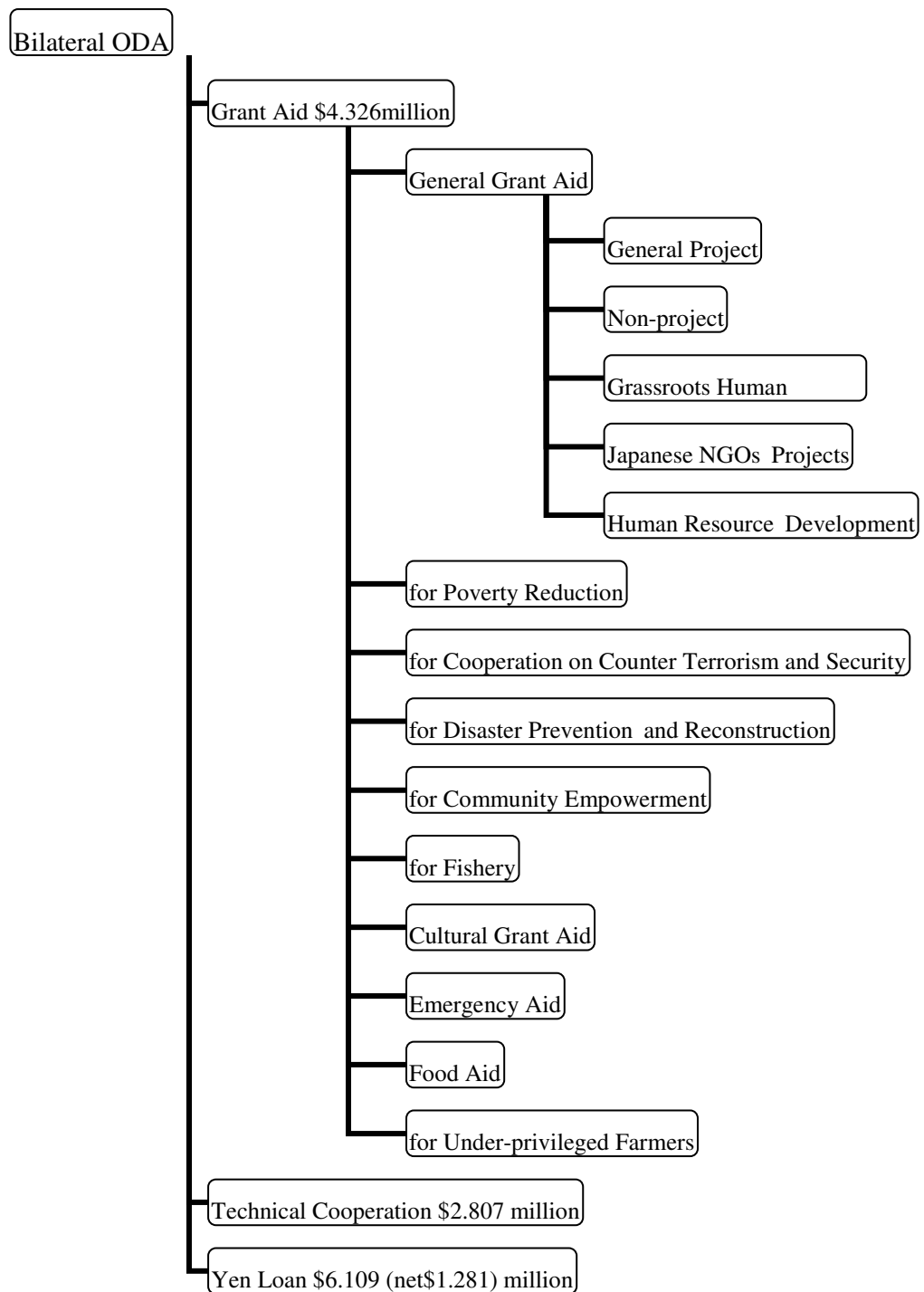
#### *Yen Loan*

Amongst Bilateral loans, ODA loan is often called Yen Loan as the fund is dispersed in Japanese Yen under long-term, low interest conditions<sup>75</sup> in accordance with the DAC standards. Historically, Yen Loan provides funds for such large

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<sup>75</sup> The interest rate depends on bilateral agreements. In 2003, the average interest rate of Yen Loan was 1.33% with the lowest at 0.75% and the highest at 5.75% (MOFA 2006)

**Figure 3. Japan's ODA Schemes**



\*Disbursement in 2004

Source: created by the author based on the data from MOFA 2006

economic and social infrastructure as roads, dams, communication facilities, and agricultural development in the recipient countries. The Japanese government recently readdressed its plans to increase Yen Loan to support education and the international balance of payments as well (JICA 2005b). The percentage of Yen Loan in Japan's ODA is relatively high compared with other donors.

### *Grant Aid*

Bilateral Grants include Grant Aid and Technical Cooperation with no obligation for repayment. Grant Aid comprises six categories according to the annual reports of JICA and MOFA; (1) general grant aid, (2) grant aid for fishery, (3) cultural grant aid, (4) emergency grant aid, (5) food aid, and (6) aid for increase of food production (JICA 2005b, MOFA 2004c). However, according to the project budget of Japan's ODA, Grant Aid comprises Economic Development Aid and Aid for Increase of Food Production subdivided into a total of ten categories as Table 2 shows; sub-dividing General Grant Aid into Grant Aid for General Projects, Non-project Grant Aid, Grant Aid for Grassroots Human Security Projects, Grant Aid for Japanese NGOs' Projects, Grant Aid for Scholarship and Research (MOFA 2004c).<sup>76</sup>

Generally, Grant Aid is explained as providing funds for the construction of buildings, the procurement of materials and equipment, and reconstruction after disasters in such fields where the return of capital is to be so low that Yen Loan cannot be applied, but the subcategories of the budget seem to imply that some categories of Grant Aid are used by the Japanese Government in highly diplomatic ways. The detail of this will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

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<sup>76</sup> From 1978 to 2002, Grant Aid for Debt Relief was conducted as part of General Grant Aid and has been diminished since 2003. The budget allocated for Grant Aid Relief in 2002 was JPY34.5 billion (MOFA 2003). This termination of Grant Aid for Debt Relief is due to a change in the method of debt relief to recipient countries. The Japanese government has decided to conduct debt relief through debt cancellation by JBIC since 2003. In order to practice debt cancellation, JBIC has received subsidies in the framework of Grant Aid Budget, which is as much as JPY30 billion both in 2003 and 2004 (Nakao 2005).

### *Technical Cooperation*

The main objective of Technical Cooperation is claimed to be to transfer Japanese technology, skills, and knowledge, which would contribute to develop human resources to the recipient countries for the nation-building. As Utsumi argues, basically, Grant Aid is positioned in Japan's ODA as a form of cooperation in terms of hardware such as goods and materials, and Technical Cooperation is in software such as human resources (Utsumi 2001). The components of Technical Cooperation are (1) the training of personnel, (2) the dispatch of experts and volunteers, (3) scholarships, (4) Project-type cooperation, and (5) development study for implementation. Recently, emergency relief and assistance have been added to these components due to changes in global issues.

In addition to a scheme for Japanese NGOs under Grant Aid, Technical Cooperation also involves NGO schemes: the JICA Partnership Programme (JPP) for financial assistance to NGO projects; and Proposed Technical Cooperation (PROTECO) for contract-out projects through bidding. The detail of NGO schemes in Japan's ODA will be discussed in Chapter 6, but whereas the focus of NGO support through Grant Aid is mainly placed on emergency relief and hardware projects such as classroom construction, the JPP focuses on NGO projects with a more participatory approach. The difference of focus seems to be made due to their decision-making bodies; MOFA for Grant Aid and JICA for Technical Cooperation. Technical Cooperation is considered to be the core of "person-to-person" development aid, to which special importance is attached in Japan's ODA, but the budget allocated to Technical Cooperation itself is not so large in scale compared with that of Grant Aid and Yen Loan.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> The disbursement for Technical Cooperation is about half of that of Grant Aid and a third of Yen Loan in 2004 (MOFA 2005c).



#### 5.3.4. Fragmented Budgetary Process

In addition to a range of financial resources, the complexity of the budgetary process has helped to increase the opaqueness of Japan's ODA. Even for Japanese people who have enough access to ODA information disclosed by the Japanese government, it is not an easy task to understand the real picture of Japan's ODA. This is because, as is often pointed out, the budgetary system of Japan's ODA is extremely complicated. Japan's ODA budget is not allocated to one responsible body, but the total sum of the budget is allocated over 13 ministries and agencies<sup>78</sup> which implement ODA. This system of ODA budget allocation is often claimed as one of the causes of the complexity and opaqueness of Japan's ODA which prevents leadership in policy making (Rix 1989-90; Kamibeppu 2002). Kawai and Takagi also point out lack of a comprehensive strategic principle for the ODA budgetary process due to this budget allocation system (Kawai and Takagi 2004). The reasons for this budget system are often discussed from cultural viewpoints. This system is sometimes advantageous for NGOs because each ministry and agency has room to provide financial support to NGOs according to their objectives and goals, which provides NGOs with various financial resources for their activities.

Unlike the Department for International Development (DFID) in Britain and development agencies in some other countries, JICA does not hold comprehensive responsibility for decision-making regarding Japan's ODA. The key role of JICA lies in Technical Cooperation, but even so, JICA is responsible only for a little more than a half of the budget allocated to Technical Cooperation<sup>79</sup>. Concerning the comprehensive leadership in policy-making on international cooperation before the government reform of 2001, some authors indicated the importance of intra-ministry relationship, stressing the power of four core ministries as MOF, MOFA, the

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<sup>78</sup> Central government Reform took place in January 2001 in order to increase the efficiency by reducing the number of ministries and agencies. After the reform, the number of ministries and agencies relevant to the allocation of the ODA budget was reduced from 17 to 13.

<sup>79</sup> According to JICA's annual report in 2003, JICA is responsible for 50.8% of the technical cooperation budget (JICA 2005).

Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI)<sup>80</sup> and the Economic Planning Agency (EPA)<sup>81</sup> (Rix 1989-90; Hook and Guan Zhang 1998; Kamibeppu 2002), and argued that the influence of power relations amongst these ministries on ODA had been continuously strong until recently.

Several authors pointed out the strong power of MITI, explaining that MITI had been the main driving force in using ODA in order to promote Japan's economic growth throughout the evolution of Japan's aid (Orr 1990; Katada 1997; Hook and Guan Zhang 1998; Hirata 2002b; Kawai and Takagi 2004). MOFA's explanation of the decision making process for Yen Loan projects would support these arguments.

Normally, when a project is proved feasible as a result of the survey..., the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes an initial decision on such important items as the type of Loan, the amount, the interest rate, and the repayment period. The initial decision thus made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to be reviewed by the other three ministries concerned, namely, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and the Economic Planning Agency. The conclusion agreed upon amongst these four ministries becomes the policy of the Government of Japan. When the government policy is thus adopted, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conveys it to the Government of the recipient country (MOFA 1997).<sup>82</sup>

Especially concerning Yen Loan, these core ministries and agency were very influential at least before the government reform in 2001.

Table 4 shows the breakdown of the General Account Budget and the Project Budget of Japan's ODA amongst the ministries in 2004. As far as can be assumed from the breakdown of the ODA budget in 2004, MOFA and MOF still seem to be influential on decision making concerning Japan's ODA. More than 90%

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<sup>80</sup> After the government reform in 2001, MITI became the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI).

<sup>81</sup> EPA has been integrated into Cabinet Office since 2001.

<sup>82</sup> MOFA's explanation implies the procedure of decision-making for Grant Aid being a little different from the procedure for Yen Loan. MOFA also has consultation with other relevant ministries and agencies in decision-making, but other ministries have less influence over Grant Aid. Concerning the projects to be implemented, MOFA holds consultations with MOF and other ministries concerned. These consultations are to determine the amount and contents of each project. In the process of those consultations, the appropriateness of the aid project is examined from various points of view (MOFA 1997).

**Table 4. The ODA Budget by Ministry and Agency**

|  | 2004 (100 million yen) |                |
|--|------------------------|----------------|
|  | General Account        | Project Budget |
| Cabinet Office   | 70.74                  | 70.74          |
| National Police Agency   | 36.95                  | 36.95          |
| Finance Service Agency   | 118.03                 | 118.03         |
| Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs,<br>Posts and Telecommunications | 923.29                 | 923.29         |
| Ministry of Justice  | 394.62                 | 394.62         |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs  | 500065.39              | 502635.99      |
| Ministry of Finance  | 219911.99              | 869373.81      |
| Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and<br>Technology            | 44273.67               | 44273.67       |
| Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare                                       | 10473.07               | 12169.87       |
| Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries                              | 5478.53                | 17382.53       |
| Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry                                      | 33601.67               | 33800.71       |
| Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport                              | 1071.53                | 1071.53        |
| Ministry of Environment  | 444.69                 | 444.69         |
| Total  | 816864.18              | 1482696.44     |
| Payments   |                        | -422032.64     |
| Net  |                        | 1060663.81     |

Sources: ODA White Paper, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2004)

of the Project Budget was allocated to MOFA and MOF (32.9% and 58.7% respectively), and the allocation of the General Account Budget to these two ministries was 61.2% to MOFA and 26.9% to MOF, which accounted for 88.1% of the total budget.

Considering the administrative nature of each ministry and agency, it could be said that this budget allocation amongst the ministries and agencies implies that Grant Aid is used by MOFA as a diplomatic means, Yen Loan is used by MOFA and METI as a strategy to secure the Japanese economy under the supervision of MOF, and Technical Cooperation is used by many ministries for their own strategic purposes through their experts working on the projects. This fragmented budget and decision-making system is in a sense very advantageous for NGOs in allowing them to secure a range of funding sources because many of these ministries and agencies have their own NGO funding schemes according to their independent objectives. However, it leads to the opaqueness of Japan's ODA.

The opaqueness of the leadership might have happened as a result of situations where JICA needed to act as the face of Japan's international cooperation and as a result of the fact that JICA undertakes the role of implementation, survey, and evaluation of Yen Loan and Grant Aid, as well as Technical Cooperation but without having the comprehensive power of decision-making for Japan's ODA. This could be one of the main reasons that the discussions of the ODA philosophy of self-help efforts do not often contain a tangible explanation of the process and practices of the philosophy. MOFA needs to take a role in policy-making without knowing the real process and practices of the implementation of ODA projects, and JICA cannot be an official speaker due to its position and role in Japan's ODA. As a result, the government explanation on ODA philosophy often becomes very superficial, limiting discussions to those at the policy level.

Over the years, there has been a debate over the role of JICA in which the argument has been made that JICA should have more responsibilities and power of comprehensive decision-making regarding international cooperation in order to solve the problems of the fragmented budgetary process and to implement development programmes more effectively. In the new plan which will be launched in 2008,

however, it has been decided that decision-making surrounding ODA will still be placed in the hands of MOFA, MOF, and METI. The new JICA, which will take over ODA loans from the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) through the merger of JICA and JBIC, will be positioned as the implementation agency of ODA under the decision-making of these three ministries.

#### 5.4. Japan's ODA in the International Context

Development assistance is deeply connected to the international relationships amongst countries in the North as well as in the South, and so is Japan's international cooperation. Although Japan's ODA is often criticised as economically centred on its own interests, the Japanese government could not have pursued its agenda apart from the international community. It is true, as many authors argue, that the Japanese government has been sensitive to international pressures in policy making (Orr 1988; Rix 1989-90; Yasutomo 1989-90; Arase 1994; Hirata 2002b; Kamibeppu 2002). Amongst the pressure from many countries, the pressure from the U.S. is the most influential in Japan's development policy, because ODA is the most convenient tool for Japanese foreign policy and the U.S. is the most critical partner for Japan (Yasutomo 1989-90). With such pressures from the international community, Japanese ODA policy has shifted in three phases; from its *economy-first policy* in the first phase, passing through *promotion of broader foreign policy objectives* in the second phase, to *further politicisation and diversification of aid* in the third phase, each of which reflects change in international relationships and the domestic environment (Hirata 2002b). It could be said that Japan's international cooperation has been formulated by the relationship with the international community as well as by its own objectives and interests.

However, how exactly have the international community and the international environment contributed to the formation of Japan's international cooperation? Arase argues that the current traits of Japan's international cooperation are directly carried over from the 1950s and 1960s (Arase 1994) when Japan started its international development cooperation. The study of the early stage of Japan's international cooperation is often neglected just because it was practiced as war

reparation, but as Arase argues, a close look at the early stage of Japan's aid is crucial to understand the formation of Japan's policy-making in international cooperation (Arase 1994), and a review of the historical context of Japan's development assistance would be of help in understanding the current system of Japan's international cooperation. Whereas the previous section discussed the domestic aspect, this section aims to shed light on the international aspect of Japan's ODA.

#### 5.4.1. The Evolution of Japan's Aid and the Cold War

It is commonly said that Japan's international cooperation started as reparations to the Asian countries which Japan had occupied during World War II for the damage and suffering inflicted on them. It is also said that Japan's international cooperation began as Technical Cooperation through joining the Colombo Plan in 1954, and that these reparations were designed to promote Japan's own economic recovery (Orr 1988; Rix 1989-90; Yasutomo 1989-90; Arase 1994; Eyinla 1999; Hirata 2002b; Kamibeppu 2002). Sawamura points out that, as its origin lies in reparations, Japan's international cooperation is different in its objectives and philosophy from European countries, whose international aid is deeply connected with former colonial countries, and the U.S., the origin of whose aid was the post-war recovery in Europe (Sawamura 2003). However, as some of the above authors point out, from the early stage of Japan's ODA, the pressure from the U.S., being closely tied to the Cold War, had contributed to shaping ODA policies in Japan (Orr 1988; Yasutomo 1989-90; Hirata 2002b), and that Japan's international cooperation was also strongly connected with the Cold War situations in international politics until the end of the Cold War. In this sense, Japan's aid does not exist independently of other donor countries; rather it is a part of the tools of international politics.

#### 5.4.2. Development Aid in the Name of Reparations

Japan began its aid programme through joining the Colombo Plan in 1954 and started war reparation payments to Burma (1954), the Philippines (1956), Indonesia (1958), and South Vietnam (1959). Grant Aid and Technical Cooperation, not as formal reparation payments, were provided to Laos (1958) and Cambodia (1959). The first Yen Loan was provided to India in 1958 (Japan Bank for International Cooperation 2003b).<sup>83</sup> War reparation payments were negotiated under the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, when Japan regained full independence of the U.S., but was still to come under the umbrella of U.S. political hegemony. However, the first list of countries which were provided with Japan's development aid did not include China, Korea, and Taiwan, which were the countries having suffered from the greatest damage from the imperialistic tendencies and aggression of Japan during World War II.<sup>84</sup> Why did the Japanese government decide to provide its development aid to these countries on the list, especially even to the countries which abandoned the right to the claim?<sup>85</sup>

Those countries which first accepted Japan's aid as reparation were located at the forefront of the fight against communism in Asia during the Cold War. As the Marshall Plan was designed as a tool for the U.S. to compete with Soviet communism in Europe through the reconstruction of European economy (Orr 1990; Rist 1997), the intention of the Colombo Plan was to respond to the threat of Chinese communism in Korea and Indochina through assistance in South and Southeast Asia to establish the market and economic stability of the region (Van Rooy 2000). In the 1950s, with the emergence of aid from the Soviet Union to the Third World and the decolonisation in Africa and Asia, as Orr points out, the U.S. "changed the nature of

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<sup>83</sup> In 1958, the India Consortium was created through the initiative of the World Bank, as a rescue operation to meet India's balance-of-payments crisis. Japan was a member of the consortium (Fuehrer 1996).

<sup>84</sup> Kitagawa points out that Japan could not approach China until America's reconciliation with China in the 1970s, even though the issues in China were one of the top priorities for Japan (Kitagawa 2003).

<sup>85</sup> Reparation payments were made on the basis of request for claims, but Laos and Cambodia renounced their claim to war reparations from Japan.

its aid as a cold war instrument, and non-aligned countries to be embraced” (Orr 1988:741), and Japan’s aid was also expected to support the aid policy of the U.S. in Asia, and Japanese economic recovery was also important to its role in the aid policy of the U.S.. When it started its own development assistance, Japan was still a recipient country of the loans from the World Bank, which began only one year before Japan joined the Colombo Plan. Therefore, it would have been very difficult for Japan to provide development aid to other countries without its own economic growth. Thus, Japan’s international cooperation concentrated on the countries in Asia, which for geographical reasons was also beneficial to Japanese economic growth.

#### 5.4.3. Japan’s Economy-first Policy and the relationship with the U.S.

Japan has often been criticised on the grounds that its main interest lay only in its economic growth through its utilisation of international development projects; this economy-first policy was very prominent especially at the evolutionary stage of its international cooperation. How, however, could it be possible for Japan to pursue its economic growth centred objectives in the post-war environment, where many countries were still very cautious about the Japanese aggression in the world economy which had led to World War II in the Asia-Pacific region in the 1940s?

The key element which allowed Japan to pursue its interest in economic growth through international development was the change in the U.S. policy towards Japan caused by the threat of communism in the region, Korea being a key battle ground in the Cold War. U.S. Department of State explains the process in its change of policy towards Japan as follows;

After Japan's unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers in August 1945, the U.S. military occupied the defeated nation and began a series of far-reaching reforms designed to build a peaceful and democratic Japan by reducing the power of the military and breaking up the largest Japanese business conglomerates. However, growing concern over Communist power in East Asia, particularly the success of the Chinese Communist Party in its struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces, led the U.S. to halt reforms in 1947 and 1948 in order to focus on the economic recovery and political rehabilitation of Japan. In this "Reverse Course," Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur, focused on strengthening, not punishing, what would become a key cold war ally (U.S. Department of State, 2005: Website)



Thus, the U.S. aid, Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Area Fund (EROA), to Japan started in 1948, and Japan was excused from reparations to the U.S. in the Treaty of San Francisco in 1951. Japan's objectives of promoting its own economic growth through war reparations to other Asian countries and development aid were to be incorporated into the U.S. efforts to "restore Japan to a respected international position", and to make Japan "a prosperous ally of the U.S." (U.S. Department of State 2005), against communism in the Cold War from the early 1950s, which were of great benefit to Japan.

The U.S. acceptance of Japan's pursuit for economic growth did not mean that the U.S. allowed Japan to be economically dominant in Asia. Rix indicates that the U.S. did not want Japan to take the initiative in development aid in Asia and other countries such as Australia were also cautious about placing Japan in an economically exclusive position through such initiatives (Rix 1989-90). Orr suggested that Japan provided aid to some countries "in which it is very difficult to identify either short or long-term Japanese foreign policy goals"<sup>86</sup> at the request of the U.S. (Orr 1988: 784). White also noted the U.S. intervention in Japan's aid as follows;

At the time when Japan embarked upon a policy of giving aid to developing countries, the U.S. was still exercising a kind of supervisory or sponsoring role over re-emergence amongst the nations of the world. Inevitably, the problem of bringing Japan's aid programme into line with that of other countries was discussed principally in bilateral meetings between the American and Japanese governments or their representatives. Aid has been an important topic in the three meetings held so far of the U.S.-Japan inter-ministerial committee on economic affairs (White 1964:69).

Japan's international cooperation was (or has still been) very much under the control of the U.S., and this seems to have been an obstacle in integrating Japan's ODA into that of other Western donors.

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<sup>86</sup> Pointing out that it was not necessarily pressure from the U.S., Orr mentions that these cases include Japanese aid to South Korea, Jamaica, Sudan, Egypt, the Philippines, and Pacific island nations (Orr 1988).

It was not only at the early stage of Japan's ODA that Japan acted in such an environment, but the same situation continued thereafter as well. With the deterioration of the U.S. economy from the late 1950s caused by the increased spending on defence and aid, the U.S. began to urge other countries to share more responsibility for defence and aid, especially West Germany and Japan (Orr 1988). In response to the request from the U.S., the Japanese government was to increase its budget for ODA,<sup>87</sup> and doubled the ODA budget from the late 1970s. Since Japan could not shoulder defence responsibilities due to the restraints of its Constitution, international cooperation was the only diplomatic tool available for responding to the requests of the U.S. as is often mentioned in official documents on Japan's international cooperation.

#### 5.4.4. Development Institutions as a Means of Entry into the International Community

In the post-war period, the ultimate task to ensure Japan's survival in the world was to be fully accepted by the international community, especially in order to participate in the world trade system (Japan Bank for International Cooperation 2003b). The Japanese government used international cooperation strategically to achieve the task, either intentionally or unintentionally. The relationship with the U.S. and neighbouring Asian countries was restored by the situation of the Cold War, the payment of reparations, and development aid to such targeted countries as Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. This development aid to these countries also helped Japan to secure the markets and raw materials to support its economic growth.

The key factor in restoring the relationship with other Western countries was Japan's participation in the Breton Woods Institutions and development aid through

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<sup>87</sup> In the early 1960s, Japan was considered to be one of the major donors of aid to developing countries, and was the fifth largest supplier of official and private financial resources to developing countries in the OECD, although White added that this did not mean that Japan was the fifth largest supplier of aid because its aid was not strictly comparable with that of other donors (White 1964).

the international aid agencies. The Cold War made the U.S. policy towards promoting Japan's economic growth change, but European countries were still cautious about Japan's aggression in European and other world markets. Prior to its participation in the OECD, Japan participated in the Development Assistance Group (DAG) in 1960, which was formed as a forum for consultation on assistance to less-developed countries amongst aid donors, and was to be re-institutionalised as the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 1961. Japan was invited to participate in the DAG due to its provision of technical assistance to Asian countries as well as its war reparations.

Due to objections by several European countries, Japan was not admitted to full membership of the OECD until 1964. This admittance was made with strong support from the U.S. (Japan Bank for International Cooperation 2003b), but the backgrounds to Japan's admittance to the OECD were an increasing amount of Japan's international cooperation to developing countries and increasing criticisms of Japan's aid by the members of DAC that Japan had ignored coordination with other donor countries and selectively applied its aid with the wrong motivation (White 1964). The full membership of the OECD meant that Japan's aid came under the scrutiny of the entire assembly of Western donor nations and created opportunities within the OECD to re-shape Japan's aid policy and integrate Japan's aid into that of other donors (White 1964). Japan also tried to respond to the demands of Western donor countries in order to be fully accepted in the international community, but with maximum effort to retain its objectives of using development assistance for its own interests, because this seemed to have been the only way not to repeat the same mistake of becoming isolated from the international community as it had been before World War II.

## 5.5. The Modality of Japan's ODA for International Politics and National Interests

The Japanese government explains that the roots of Japan's international cooperation lie in the support of the self-help efforts of recipient countries, based on requests from the recipient countries and that its modality of ODA is based on its

experience of development after World War II (Sangiin Chosakai [House of Councillors Survey Group on International Issues] 2004). These characteristics are influenced by Japanese values and experience, but the framework of its international cooperation has been more connected to international politics and relationships with other donor countries and international aid agencies.

As discussed in the previous section, multilateral agencies in addition to the U.S. have been important elements in Japan's security as an entry point for the establishment of healthy relationships with other countries, especially Western countries. The US was influential in the selection of recipient countries, as the DAC was over the schemes under Japan's ODA. How, then, has Japan formulated its aid modality in accordance with the world history of development? A short review of the formulation of international development through multilateral agencies will explain the process of the creation of Japan's modality of ODA, which anticipates government schemes regarding Japanese NGOs as well.

The three pillars of Japan's ODA comprise Grant Aid, Technical Cooperation, and Yen Loan. The comparison of Japan's ODA with the original forms of development assistance by multilateral agencies will provide evidence of how the Japanese government formulates its international cooperation in the context of international policy.

#### 5.5.1. Technical Cooperation

The system of Japan's Technical Cooperation was born as a response to demands from the United Nations at the end of 1940s. After Truman's Point Four in 1949, a series of special agencies were established to promote 'development' in the Third World. "The Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance"<sup>88</sup> by the UN was

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<sup>88</sup> The origin of Technical Assistance lies in International Cooperation through the League of Nations, which was created in response to a request by China in the early 1930s. China requested the League to assist modernisation efforts through the provision of both knowledge and capital. This international cooperation took place in the tense political climate of war between China and Japan, and therefore the League stressed that the character of cooperation was purely technical

one of these special programmes and was approved by the UN General Assembly on 16 November 1949. This programme was funded by voluntary contributions from member states. Although Japan was not one of those member states at that time,<sup>89</sup> the main programmes in Japan's Technical Cooperation are identical to those of Rist's explanation of 'Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance' (Rist 1997).

... the main aim of which ("The Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance") was to finance those programmes of the sending of technical experts, the granting of scholarships to the Third World citizens, and the training of the managerial personnel. Requests for assistance had to be made by governments, a Technical Assistance Board, ..., set up the programmes and monitored them to ensure that the funds were being distributed in an impartial manner (Rist 1997:89).

Rist added that this form of Third World aid was successful as a system to draw in countries which had no colonial responsibilities, as Truman had hoped (Rist 1997). Japan was surely one of these countries drawn into the programme in line with the U.S. intentions and has been developing the current programmes of Technical Cooperation under ODA by making adjustments in line with current issues in development thinking throughout the course of Japan's maturing international cooperation. Technical Cooperation implemented by JICA was established as a response to criticisms concerning poor quality of Japan's development assistance, and JICA has played a crucial role in implementing Technical Cooperation programmes, which put more focus on development rather than diplomacy and economic growth. However, the focus is limited only to Technical Cooperation. The greatest problem for JICA is its lack of power in decision-making despite its greater engagement in the actual implementation of Japan's ODA projects.

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and that dispatched experts did not to interfere with the sovereignty of China but gave advice only without making decisions (Rist 1998:63).

<sup>89</sup> Japan became a fully independent country in 1951 through the San Francisco Treaty, but Japan's admittance to the UN did not take place until 1956 due to a veto by the Soviet Union in 1952.

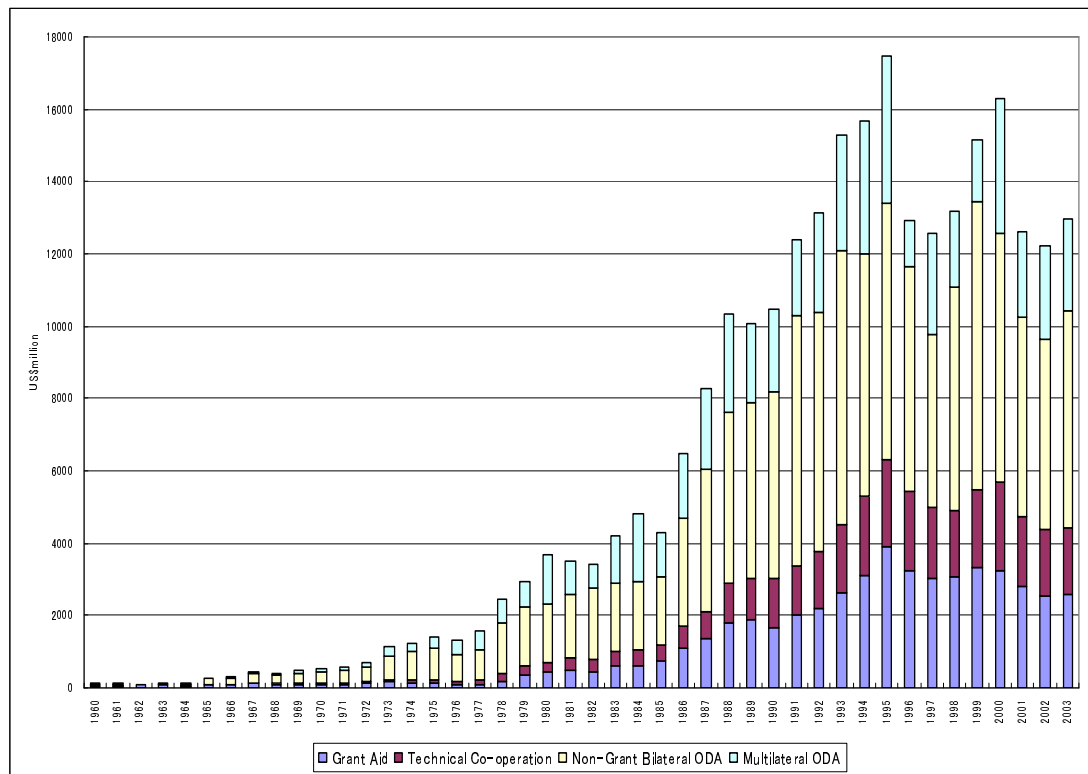
### 5.5.2. Yen Loan

Yen Loan has been the most convenient tool for the Japanese government both in its diplomatic relationship with the U.S. and in Japan's economic growth. The development of the Yen Loan programme indicates how Japan's ODA was created by the international community, especially by the U.S. and how the Japanese government utilised the programme for its own ends. Since the beginning of Japan's development assistance programmes, Yen Loan has been the greatest target of criticisms against Japan's ODA. Many advocates for more equitable development aid have thought that Japan's ODA helps only to increase the amount of debt which recipient countries could not afford to pay back, and that therefore it should be more concessional or grant-based, pointing out that Japan earns money through the loans they expect to be paid back. However, the scheme of Yen Loan was not initiated by the Japanese government but originated in response to a request by the international community, led by the U.S. in the 'incubating' period of international development in the early 1950s when the international community had a strong desire to promote 'development' after Technical Assistance programmes promoted by the UN required capital transfers to developing countries in order to be included under their 'Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance'.

At that time, the Economic and Social Council of the UN requested that the World Bank should fund unprofitable ventures in such areas as the construction of infrastructure in the Third World, but the World Bank refused to act judging that the return on capital investment was too low. After the failure to establish the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development in 1953, the World Bank created the International Finance Corporation (IFC) in 1956 and the international Development Association (IDA) in 1960 (Rist 1997). It was against such a background that Japan started the first Yen Loan programme to India in 1958 as a member of the India Consortium, an initiative by the World Bank to solve the problem of the balance-of-payments in India.

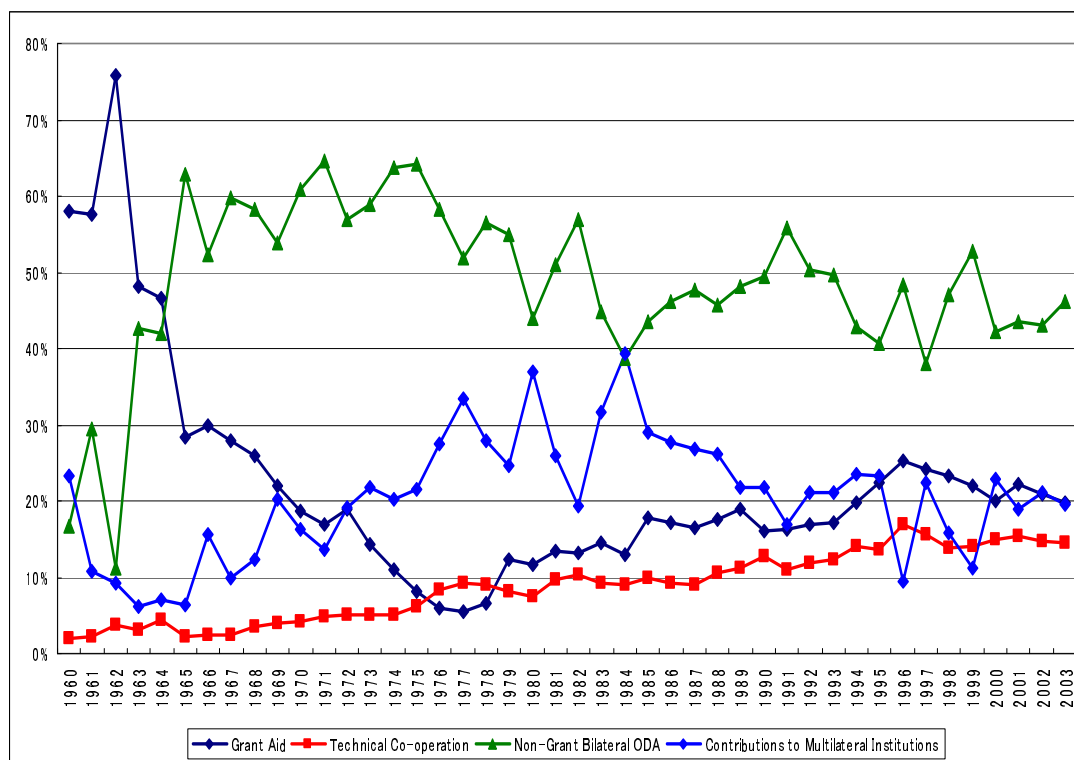
Japan, which was reluctant to expand its capacity for defence due to regional and historical constraints, made the choice to respond to the demand from the U.S. for contributions to help ensure the stability in Asia. Thus, the volume of Yen Loan

**Figure 4. The Amount of Japan's ODA**



Source: the OECD (2004)

**Figure 5. The Share of ODA Budget by Programme**



Source: the OECD (2004)



was increased in response to frequent requests in the 1960s to ease the U.S. aid burden in South East Asia as well as Korea and Taiwan (Orr 1988). Yen Loan has become an important diplomatic tool for the relationship with the U.S. However, in the early years of its international cooperation, the Japanese economy was not mature enough to provide abundant capital for its aid programmes. The best possible way for the Japanese government to fund its international cooperation was to increase the scale of Yen Loan tying commercial companies with its ODA programmes so as to create commercial benefits through it. In this manner, Japan continued to increase the amount of Yen Loan, which served as the main tool to compete against communism in Asia, maximising the opportunities for utilising projects to promote its own economic growth. Considering the domestic economic situation in the early period of Japan's international cooperation where Japan received loans from the World Bank and the U.S., it could be easily assumed that the Japanese government had great difficulties in funding the capital to join the donor community in international cooperation. Yen Loan can be considered to have been an effective tool to solve this problem, and Japan was accepted into the donor community during the 1960s.

The utilisation of Yen Loan for Japan's economic growth was to continue until very recently. As the Japan's economic prosperity grew in the 1970s, the criticisms of its economy-oriented ODA policy with its overemphasis on Asia by other donor countries, especially the U.S. became fierce economic friction surfaced due to the increase in Japan's trade surplus. To ease the criticisms, the Japanese government decided to increase the budget for ODA through its "doubling plans" and the promotion of untying Yen Loan. By the 1990s, the untied rate of Yen Loan had increased up to almost 100%, and in 2003 the untied rate of overall ODA was 96.1% (MOFA 2005d).

Stimulated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and other international circumstances, Japan was to increase its aid further in order to contribute to the economic and political stability of countries in which it is very difficult to identify Japanese foreign policy goals, such as Jamaica, Sudan, Egypt and Pakistan. Thus, Japan's international cooperation has been established as an important pillar in

diplomacy through pursuing an aid policy in harmony with U.S. initiatives (Orr 1988). The continuation of Yen Loan has been justified with the rationale that Yen Loan is indispensable to an increase in the scale of Japan's ODA through leveraging ODA resources. In struggling with the untied nature of Japan's ODA which was promoted by the international pressure and criticisms, MOF, MITI, and EPA (currently MOF and METI) with consultation with MOFA have continued to seek opportunities to promote Japan's economic growth through ODA due to domestic pressure from the business community.

### 5.5.3. Grant Aid

Just as Yen Loan is the greatest tool for the diplomacy with the U.S., Grant Aid has been a tool for the Japanese government to catch up with international trends in development assistance. Yen Loan has been employed to build a better relationship with the U.S. and to promote Japanese economic interests, whilst Grant Aid has been utilised in response to international needs in development assistance, which is also useful for the Japanese government to avoid international criticisms against Yen Loan and its use for Japan's economic purposes. It was not until 1969 that Japan started its Grant Aid programmes. Grant Aid programmes were created as a result of the debate in the DAC in the late 1960s over the concept of 'ODA'. In 1969 DAC adopted the concept of 'ODA' as separate from Other Official Flows (OOF), defining ODA as having the main objective of promoting economic and social development in developing countries and in financial terms of being concessional in character. The debate over the definition of ODA and its main objectives was undoubtedly rooted in the criticisms amongst European countries against Yen Loan as being utilised for Japan's own economic growth. Furthermore, as Japan was finishing reparation payments, in the mid-1960s the percentage of Grant Aid in Japan's ODA was decreasing. In order to be responsive to the requirements of the DAC, Japan established the Grant Aid programme as part of its international cooperation and has been adding other programmes as demands from the international community arise so that the Japanese government can avoid friction and criticisms of its international cooperation.

In the course of the history of Japan's international cooperation, MOFA has added programmes which are responsive to the demands of the international community. Therefore, from the name of an added programme, we can easily tell the trends in international development at the time of its creation of the programmes. For example, Non-project Grant Aid for Economic Structural Adjustment Support is now known as Non-project Grant Aid, but as the name suggests this grant was started in 1987 in line with the policy of the Structural Adjustment Programmes by the World Bank and the IMF in accordance with a pledge at the Venice Summit. Until 2004, Non-project Grant Aid was used for the improvement of the international balance of payments as well as for conflict prevention and peace building.

Grant Aid for Grassroots Human Security Projects and Japanese NGOs' Projects also started to support Japanese citizens' participation in international development. The former started in 1989 to support small scale local grassroots organisations' project in the recipient countries, and the latter was started in 2002 to support Japanese NGOs projects in response to the internal and external demand for support to NGOs working in international cooperation.

In addition, four new programmes are to be added from 2006; Grant Aids for Poverty Reduction, for Cooperation on Counter Terrorism and Security, for Community Empowerment, and for Disaster Prevention and Reconstruction. All of these mirror the current trends in international development. Notable amongst these is Grant Aid for Community Empowerment, a scheme aiming for cost-effectiveness, in which recipient governments can have contract with local companies and agencies to undertake projects on education, water, and health at the competition-basis, but the programme is not aimed at NGOs or Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). This programme tells us that community empowerment for the Japanese government is not the empowerment of NGOs or CSOs but the empowerment of private companies and agencies, which matches not the promotion of democratisation but the promotion of the market-oriented economy.

The Japanese government clearly states that economic assistance from Japan serves as an effective diplomatic means for maintaining and strengthening amicable relations with developing countries (MOFA 1997) ■In addition to Yen Loan, the

Japanese government makes great strategic use of Grant Aid for its own purposes towards the countries in the North as well as in the South, in accordance with circumstances within the international community.

## 5.6. Directions of Japan's international cooperation after the Cold War

### 5.6.1. The ODA Charter in the Post-Cold War Era

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, the Cold War was terminated, and the international environment where Japan's ODA played its role drastically changed. The concept of the Third World as a battleground between capitalism and communism has disappeared, and international development aid is no longer an instrument of bipolar international competition and has lost its main driving force in the international community. Japan's international cooperation as a means of cooperating with the U.S. also seemed to finish its role with the end of the Cold War, but the decrease of development aid by the major donors left Japan as the top donor amongst the DAC member countries. This environment forced the Japanese government to re-consider the principles and philosophy of its international cooperation, apart from the discipline of the U.S...

It was in such circumstances that the Japanese government proclaimed the first ODA Charter through a Cabinet Order in 1992. It defined four principles of the provision of Japan's ODA; (1) the pursuit of environmental conservation in development, (2) the avoidance of military use of ODA, (3) attention to recipient countries' military expenditures, and (4) the promotion of democratisation and market-oriented economy, basic human rights and freedoms of the recipient country (MOFA 1992). Around this time, the Japanese government began providing financial support to Japanese NGOs as part of its ODA. The 1992 ODA Charter can be considered as a proclamation of the shift of Japan's international cooperation from being oriented around the economy to social, political, and humanitarian concern oriented.

The background to this shift lay in increasing criticisms of Japan's tied aid element of ODA. Towards the end of the Cold War, in which a large volume of

Japan's ODA had a lesser role in easing the burden of the U.S., Japan's aid policy to promote its economic interest increasingly became a threat to Western economies. In response to heavy criticisms against Japan's aid policy, the ratio of untied aid in its ODA increased from 25.8% in 1980 to 77.0% in 1990 and to 96.3% in 1995. The percentage of contracts given to Japanese firms in Yen Loan projects dropped from 70% in the 1980s to 27.3% in 1995, which led to decreasing support for ODA from the Japanese business community inside Japan (Kawai and Takagi 2004).

In these circumstances, the Japanese government redefined its ODA as a diplomatic tool to secure its position in the international community, the focus of which was not limited to the U.S., through international contributions. Providing development aid to African countries in order to get support from these countries for the attainment of a permanent seat on the UN Security Council represents Japan's attitudes towards its international cooperation at that time. However, the 1992 ODA Charter does not proclaim a clear vision for the shift in Japan's ODA; rather it only expresses Japan's willingness to follow the trend in international development at that time. For Hook and Zhang, the 1992 ODA Charter was judged to be "more rhetorical than real" (Hook and Guan Zhang 1998). Rather, the Japanese government seemed to be still seeking a direction for its international cooperation in the post-cold war era.

The Japanese government later made clearer its vision in a proposal submitted to the United Nations Working Group on Agenda for Development in 1995. Fujisaki et al. argue that "(t)his is one of the most comprehensive policy papers on international development that the Japanese government has presented to the international community" (Fujisaki *et al.* 1996-97:524), highlighting that the paper has three themes: the applicability of Japan's experience in East Asia to other countries; emphasis on recipient countries' self-help efforts and the country-specific approach; and the importance of democracy, good governance, and gender sensitiveness (Fujisaki *et al.* 1996-97). For Fujisaki et al., these themes indicate the shift in Japan's international cooperation towards an emphasis on software aid (Fujisaki *et al.* 1996-97). The Japanese government started demonstrating initial indications of the shift from quantity to quality of its ODA, seeking a new orientation

of its aid policy, but the East Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 was to re-increase the role of Japan's ODA in the economic stability in Asian regions.

#### 5.6.2. The East Asian Financial Crisis and a Push towards Economic Orientation

Triggered by a financial crisis in Thailand in July 1997, the East Asian Financial Crisis influenced currencies, stock markets and other asset prices in several Asian countries, which led to the damage of the growing economic stability in Asian regions. Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea were the most affected countries but the effects rippled throughout the globe and caused a global financial crisis. In order to contribute to Asian market stability and in response to the requests of those Asian countries affected by the crisis, the Japanese government, which had planned to cut the budget for ODA from 1998, postponed the budget cut and increased its international aid to those countries affected by the crisis (Yamashita 2003).

In providing as much assistance as US\$30 billion to Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea, the Japanese government was successful in increasing tied loans in the special interest rate framework in the assistance given to these Asian countries, through lowering interest rates to 0.75% and extending the payment period to 40 years (with a grace period of 10 years). With the U.S. policy of increasing international aid after the 9/11 terrorism, the special interest rates in the ODA framework were extended to other countries in 2002, which has made tied loans possible for those countries which received Yen Loans with special interest rates. The influence of the special interest loans is small in relation to the overall proportion of untied aid in Japan's ODA, but together with other efforts to increase opportunities for Japanese firms to be involved in Yen Loan projects, tied aid commitment again increased up to 13.1% in 2004, and the percentage of Japanese firms represented in contracts relating to Japan's ODA increased from 19% in 1999 to 35% in 2004 (MOFA 2005b). This figure does not only mean that Japan is pursuing its economic interests through ODA, but that other donor countries also allow Japan to pursue its economic interests in return for an increase in the volume of foreign aid, which is beneficial to both parties.

### 5.6.3. The Changing World Order

#### *The Revision of the ODA Charter*

The environment surrounding international development has changed after the 9/11 ‘war on terror’, resonating to the shift in international politics. Poverty has been linked with terrorism and democratisation to justify increasing foreign aid and intervention by many bilateral and multilateral donors to those countries which are considered ‘undemocratic’ by the super-powers. As Lister argues, terrorism has created a tendency not to distinguish between security and development concerns (Lister 2004). Motives to continue with a large volume of foreign aid in the donor community which shrank after the Cold War have been once again fuelled by the ‘war on terror’ and the Iraqi War. It was against this background that Japan’s ODA Charter was revised in 2003.

The role of Japan’s international cooperation has re-increased in its importance in the international community. The Japanese government, which had lost its strong driving force for increasing foreign aid due to the change in international political and economic environments in the post-Cold War period and the long-term domestic financial crisis, started to be engaged in reconstructing Japan’s ODA so as to fit into the international environment. In revising the ODA Charter, the Japanese government explained the background of the revision of the ODA Charter as the advancement of globalisation and the terrorist attacks in the U.S. in September 2001, sharing the view that ‘poverty can be a hotbed to terrorism’ (MOFA 2004a: 203).

The new concept attached to the revised ODA Charter is ‘Human Security’, whereas the former ODA Charter advocated the humanitarian viewpoint of Japan’s international cooperation. Understanding ‘Human Security’ as a concept of efforts to protect people from threats to their livelihood, survival and dignity, MOFA proclaims the “consolidation of peace” as one of its priority issues in the core concept of ‘Human Security’, and has “attached importance to the role of ODA in various aspects such as conflict prevention, emergency humanitarian assistance during conflict, promoting the conclusion of conflict, ‘consolidation of peace’ and nation-building after the conclusion of conflict” (MOFA 2004a: 204). Furthermore,

MOFA has declared that “the consolidation of peace in Iraq became another crucial challenge for providing ODA in 2003” and that “Japan intends to continue to attach importance to making contributions in these areas” (MOFA 2004a:204). Thus, the Japanese government has expressed its active involvement in development aid during the war-on-terror era under the initiative of the U.S... Again, Japan’s ODA is one of the most important diplomatic tools in its relationship with the U.S. In 2005, the U.S.-Japan Strategic Development Alliance was launched to share “a common development vision aimed at promoting peace, stability, and prosperity through results-oriented development assistance” (US Department of State 2005). Thus, Japan aimed to increase its ODA with a pledge at the G8 Summit at Gleneagles in 2005 to increase its ODA budget by US\$ 10 billion in the next five years, assuring ‘Japan’s own security and prosperity’ as well (MOFA 2003a:1).

### *Domestic Challenges*

The Japanese government has to face many challenges to increasing the volume of ODA. These challenges include decreasing public support and difficulties in mobilising financial resources for ODA. Due to the long-term bad economy in Japan, public support for ODA has been less in favour of an increase in the budget of ODA.<sup>90</sup> The domestic business community especially is losing its benefits from ODA in the course of untying Japan’s ODA. Obtaining public support to ODA is a critical issue for the Japanese government’s survival in the international community.

However, the Japanese government faces another obstacle to further increase in international cooperation. As Kawai and Takagi argue, due to the restructuring of the Fiscal Investment and Loan Programme (FILP), which has provided the main financial resource for Yen Loan, the direct use of postal savings deposits, postal insurance, and provident fund premiums for ODA was terminated

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<sup>90</sup> The results of surveys of Japanese public opinion of Japan’s Economic Cooperation conducted by Japan’s Cabinet Office found that the percentage of people who thought either that “Japan should decrease ODA” or “ODA should stopped” increased to 28.7% in 2004 from 9.3% in 1991, and the percentage of those people who thought ‘ODA should be positively promoted’ decreased to 18.7% from 41.4% respectively (Yamashita 2003).



(Kawai and Takagi 2004). The fund-raising for FILP is now conducted based on market principles (through the insurance of FILP agency bonds and FILP bonds), this great public support to ODA is indispensable to increase or sustain ODA. For this purpose, the Japanese government has put a greater focus on ‘transparency’, ‘efficiency’ and ‘public participation’ than ever before, which have become the key concepts of the ODA reform in 2003. This is the background against which Japanese NGOs currently enjoy a certain level of financial support from the government. NGOs are considered as one of the main players in ‘public participation’.

#### 5.6.4. ODA and NGOs<sup>91</sup>

Unlike Western donor countries, the Japanese government does not expect NGOs and other CSOs to play an important role in its democracy support programmes in ODA. Democratisation has been one of the main issues in Japan’s ODA since the Post-Cold War era, but its democracy support programmes have been conducted in very limited regions and have been conducted only through the support of judicial, legislative, and administrative institutions, the support of capacity building of government officers, and election support. Direct support to advocacy work by NGOs has rarely been conducted so far. As a result, the support to NGOs is basically limited to financial support for development projects, the capacity building of NGOs, and the promotion of dialogue between the government and NGOs in Japan.

Furthermore, in the last fifteen years, these types of government support to NGOs have been increasingly promoted. In explaining the government attitudes towards Japanese NGOs, Reimann argues that the abrupt change of the state policy towards NGOs was created not by domestic demand but by the change of international norms and “a push from outside” (Reimann 2003:304). As Reimann argues, the pressure from foreign countries towards the Japanese government was a crucial trigger for the transformation of Japanese state policy towards NGOs after the

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<sup>91</sup> The detail of the government schemes for Japanese NGOs is discussed in Chapter 6.

Cold War, but that aspect does not lead to the denial of the existence of domestic incentives.

Certainly, at the start of its financial support for NGOs in the early 1990s, the central motives of the government to explore the partnership with NGOs were pressures by the international community and the principle of neo-liberalism. In a necessity to increase the ODA budget, the financial support for NGOs has been in part changed into a means of promoting *shimin sanku*, citizens' participation, in ODA so as to obtain popular support to ODA in Japan. In schemes to promote citizens' participation, the Japanese government encourages NGOs as well as private sectors, universities, and even local governments to participate in ODA through government funding for their projects in international cooperation. In this sense, the Japanese government, which has minor interest in democratisation but has great interest in market-oriented economy, does not use the term 'Civil Society' in its funding schemes for NGOs and encourages the private sector and universities to join the schemes.

In addition to a means of obtaining popular support to ODA, the importance of NGOs in emergency relief has been increasingly recognised by the Japanese government after conflicts and disasters occurring in various places, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan. NGOs' comparative advantages such as flexibility and prompt decision-making are appreciated by the Japanese government in order to reinforce the foundation of Japan's emergency humanitarian assistance and to promote the visibility of Japan's contributions to countries afflicted by disasters and conflicts in the international community. From 2001 to 2005, the Japanese government disbursed as much funding as US\$40 million for emergency relief activities by Japanese NGOs, the large part of which was for their relief activities in Iraq. This funding for Japanese NGOs was made outside of the ordinary funding schemes for Japanese NGOs in ODA, which would represent one of the great government's expectations for Japanese NGOs in emergency relief.

## 5.7. Conclusion

International cooperation is deeply connected with international politics, and relationship with other countries, especially with Western countries, can not be ignored in discussing Japan's international cooperation. Kenichi Ohno argues that the absence of clear principles and passive reaction to shifting external surroundings are the salient features of Japan's diplomacy, which is also reflected in Japan's ODA (Ohno 2001). In its initial stage, Japanese assistance was created by the Cold War situations and positioned as a tool of supporting the U.S. to fight against communism in Asia. The early 'economic growth first policy' was admitted by the U.S. so that Japan could shoulder some burden of development assistance against the background that Japan was still receiving loans from the World Bank and the U.S. Unlike situations in Europe, Japan was the only country in Asia which had a potential to shoulder the burden of development assistance together with the U.S. for a long time. In addition, involving in development aid by the U.S. provided Japan with opportunities to maximise benefits through international cooperation by pursuing its own economic interests.

However, good relationship with the U.S. was not enough for Japan's security in the international community. Japan experienced before World War II that Japanese economic aggression in Asia deteriorated good relationships with European countries. Japan recognises that this was also one of the critical elements in leading Japan to the war. Isolation from the international community is fatal for a country which depends on trade and natural resources from other countries for its survival in the world. As Japan's "economy-first policy" in ODA was heavily criticised by European countries, contributions to multilateral organisations as well as showing its efforts to follow the principles of the multilateral organisations were indispensable for Japan to maintain good relationships with Western countries. Thus, Japan started to establish its international cooperation system in response to demands by the multilateral organisations as well as the U.S.

In such process of Japan's development assistance, the direction and political use of Japan's development assistance in the international community could be considered to lie in the hands of the outside body; the U.S. In response to the

initiatives and demand by the outside, not from the South but from the North, the Japanese government had to look mainly at the domestic issues of its ODA and shared the roles of ODA policy making with MOFA for diplomacy, MOF for finance, and METI (former MITI and EPA) for domestic economy. In doing so, Japan made decisions on the selection of recipient countries for ODA provision, in order to maintain good relationship with the U.S. Aid modality in Technical Cooperation and Grant Aid was made in order to maintain good relationships with other bilateral and multilateral organisations. Policy making in Yen Loan was used for its own economic growth.

What appears like competition in the eyes of outsiders is actually collaboration amongst these three ministries in order to maximise benefits gained from international cooperation. In such circumstances, it would be natural for the Japanese government not to feel any desire or necessity to have political interventions in recipient countries but to have more focus on the economic growth of recipient countries through infrastructure development assistance. Minor interest in democratisation and supports to democracy in Japan's ODA could be considered to derive from the same origin. These attitudes of the Japanese government have created a different environment for NGOs in Japan from that in many of Western countries, which has allowed Japanese NGOs to enjoy more freedom in international cooperation under government funding to them than Western NGOs in development assistance.

Furthermore, sharing roles amongst the ministries in Japan's ODA has also given certain advantages to Japanese NGOs in obtaining a range of governmental funding. As each ministry has its own target areas in international cooperation, funding by these ministries was of help to secure the diversity in the selection of NGOs in the governmental funding, which has provided Japanese NGOs with a wider range of choices in their activities. The fragmented budgetary system is complicated and hard to grasp the picture of Japan's ODA, but coincidentally it was to lead to the maintenance of NGOs' diversity in Japan.

However, such advantageous situations for Japanese NGOs were seemingly terminated due to the ODA reform in 2003 and the change of the world order since

2001. The ODA reform has strengthened the influence of MOFA in Japan's international cooperation, which has led to an emphasis on the diplomatic use of ODA by MOFA. In addition, the change of the world order has underlined the importance of emergency relief assistance in development assistance. With this change in the context, MOFA has increased the degree of its focus on peace-building and emergency relief activities in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. In this sense, although it is too early to be concluded, Japanese NGOs, which have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom in their activities, might be also facing a crisis to lose their diversity in their development activities and thinking. The degree of the crisis would be dependent on how much autonomy and independence JICA, whose main mission lies in development activities, could secure apart from MOFA.

In 2006, the former Council of Overseas Economic Cooperation-Related Ministers is changed into the Overseas Economic Cooperation Council. The new members of the Council are the Prime Minister as chair, Chief Cabinet Secretary, and the ministers of MOFA, MOF, and METI as members. Through this new plan, the Japanese government shows a decision to integrate many decision-making bodies into three ministries in order to avoid the fragmented decision-making system. However, this reform has another indication that the priorities in ODA are now decided more clearly from the aspects of diplomacy, finance, and economic growth. JICA is not included as a member of the council. The issues of development assistance in ODA are discussed only from these three perspectives under the initiatives of MOFA. Although it is too early to tell what changes will happen in Japan's ODA by this reform, the prospects of ODA for the use of international development is not seemingly bright because no ministry is in charge of international development. If the Japanese government has any willingness to use its ODA for the development of countries in the South, there should be some party which could speak from a viewpoint of international development rather than diplomacy, finance and economic growth. Support and intervention in the activities of Japanese NGOs could also be changed by the influence of the MOFA whose interest lies in diplomacy.

## Chapter 6. Japanese NGOs in International Cooperation

### 6.1. Introduction

Japan is not an exception of the global surge of NGO fads in international development as well as in other political arenas, although it has been long considered as a monolithic country with the strong centralised state power. Due to the perception of a country with little diversity and strong state-centric ideas, Japan may not be observed as a copious ground for civic activities. Many Japanese people even think that Japanese civil society is a recent creation due to the influence of the Western culture.<sup>92</sup> However, even in pre-war and wartime Japan there were hundreds of thousands of Japanese people who belonged to associations which promoted the advancement of demands of the society (Schwartz 2003). Japanese civic activities were more cooperative with the state than antagonistic and put great focus on concord between citizens and the state so that their activities might not have harmed the cultural values which focussed on harmony in Japanese society. In this sense, civic activities in Japan have been a little different from those in the Western ideas which place more emphasis on counter-power against the states, but the difference between the Japanese ideas and the Western ideas could not deny the existence of civic activities conducted by Japanese citizens.

After World War II, the Western ideas of democracy prevailed in Japanese society, and there was a phenomenon where even Japanese people tended to analyse and tried to understand Japanese society referring to Western values. Japanese civil society has also been analysed in this way, which would have led to the

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<sup>92</sup> Hirata introduces a comment made by a Japanese researcher which argued no existence of Japanese civil society until recently (Hirata 2002b).

misunderstanding even amongst Japanese people that Japanese civic activities were a recent creation. However, it cannot also be denied that the recent debate over civil society and civic engagement in the Japanese political arena has been significantly influenced by the global trend of civil society, and Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation are one of the institutions most influenced by this phenomenon.

The previous chapter looks at the Japanese government and its international cooperation from the scope of international politics in order to explore the system of Japan's ODA on which Japanese NGOs have a heavy financial reliance as well as to review the nature of Japan's international cooperation. This chapter will explore the system and mechanism of Japanese NGOs in Japan, which includes the origin and history of Japanese NGOs, the scale and scope of their activities, the funding system, and relationships with their donors and amongst themselves. Through this investigation, the chapter will sketch out how Japanese NGOs are working in the Japanese context. This sketch will give an explanation about the social background of the Japanese NGO in this research.

## 6.2. Historical View

### 6.2.1. Evolution

Japan has more than 400 NGOs engaged in international cooperation activities (JANIC 2004). The number is still increasing, and it is extremely difficult to identify the exact scale and scope of their activities because NGOs are registered as non-profit organisations at the local government level. There is no integrated information on Japanese NGOs as a sector. Conventionally, many Japanese NGOs were engaged more individually in aid activities such as the provision of financial and material assistance to marginalized people or children in Asia. However, a drastic change has occurred in the scope of their activities since 1990. More and more Japanese NGOs are going out of Japan to implement substantive projects rather than providing mere financial assistance. How have NGOs' activities been transformed? Let us have a glance at the trajectory of Japanese NGOs.

The first international relief activities were conducted by Japanese doctors and medical students in Japanese Occupied China during the war-time in the 1930s (Harada 2004; Ito 2004) and a few religious organisations<sup>93</sup> were born to conduct development activities in the 1960s. However, the evolution for Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation in the current context occurred with a crisis in Bangladesh at Independence and the Indochina Refugee Crisis<sup>94</sup> in the 1970s. Various organisations were established in response to these crises in Asia during this period. In the 1970s, several NGOs started their relief activities in response to the famine in Somalia and Ethiopia. Many of the existing large Japanese NGOs have their origins in this period and extended their range of activities from emergency relief to international development assistance in later times. After this evolution period, the 1980s witnessed the steady growth of Japanese NGOs in number and the range of their activities throughout the period. According to a survey by Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC), the number of Japanese NGOs increased from 50 in 1980 to more than 200 in 1990 (JANIC 2004). Furthermore, the 1980s witnessed the booming of Japanese economy, and against this booming economy, International NGOs from the West started to place their branches in Japan.<sup>95</sup> However, many of these Japanese branches put the focus of their activities on fund-raising in Japan during this period, and some of these Japanese branches of International NGOs are still mainly engaged in fund-raising in Japan rather than implementing their own projects in the South.

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<sup>93</sup> These include Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service (JOCS), Tsurukawa Rural Institute (current Asian Rural Institute) and International Organisation for Cultivating Universal Human Spirit (current OISCA). The former two are Christian organisations and the other is *Shinto*, Japanese indigenous religion. All of these are still significant in their development activities in 2006.

<sup>94</sup> More than 1.4 million people fled or were forced out of those countries after the communist governments took over in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia after long conflicts between 1960 and 1975 (Wain 1979). This massive flow of refugees was one of the serious problems in the international community and various actions were taken for these 'permanent' refugees by international aid agencies and governments. NGOs were also one of the active institutions to assist these refugees.

<sup>95</sup> Food for Hungry International Service Centre, The Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), Plan International, Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), Save the Children, CARE, and World Vision established their Japanese offices during this period.



Before 1989, when the Cold War ended, citizens' activities and NGOs, excluding religious organisations, were often labelled as anti-government or left-wing (Yamamoto 1999), and therefore the government policy towards the formation of NGOs and citizens' activities had been very restrictive and rigid. Access to government funding for these organisations was available only for a limited number of NGOs which had the government approval in the form of legal status, *Koeki Hojin* (Reimann 2003).<sup>96</sup> Private donations were not greatly expected for the activities of NGOs except those with religious backgrounds. As a result, the scale and scope of the activities of Japanese NGOs were very limited, and Japanese NGOs were recognised as peripheral players in international cooperation.

#### 6.2.2. Growth

A drastic change occurred in the 1990s in the popular perception of and attitudes towards NGOs as well as the status of NGOs in the legal system in Japan. Before then, Japanese authorities had been very suspicious and did not always have positive attitudes towards NGOs and citizens' groups. However, the perception of and attitudes towards NGOs had a positive change due to several factors in the 1990s. Firstly, there was an upsurge of attention towards NGOs in the international arena after the Cold War. Secondly, participatory approach has gained its important status in international development, and NGOs have been considered as the main players in participatory approaches at the grassroots. In addition, Japanese NGOs' participation and involvement in the activities in the Summits and other international conferences<sup>97</sup> had also considerable influence over the perception of and attitudes

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<sup>96</sup> At that time, the majority of NGOs were unincorporated associations which did not have legal status or were not registered with the government. *Koeki Hojin*, which literally means 'public-interest corporations' in Japanese, is one of the legal status given to non-profit organisations in the Civil Code. Before 1998 when Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the NPO Law) was established, it was extremely difficult, considered as almost impossible, for many NGOs to obtain the legal status due to the complex and application procedures and restrictive requirements (Amemiya 1998).

<sup>97</sup> Japanese NGOs, for example, joined the Japanese delegation to International Conference on Population and Development at Cairo in 1994, to the World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995, and to the World Summit on Sustainable Development at Johannesburg in 2002. In

towards NGOs in Japan. Against this background, the Japanese government was exploring communication and partnership with NGOs and expanding its support to NGOs in ODA in the 1990s.

Thirdly, the Hanshin Great Earthquake which occurred in 1995 was a trigger that started enormous popular attention towards NGOs and volunteerism due to their active and flexible role in assistance to victims of the earthquake in contrast to the inefficient and slow governmental response. This recognition of the importance of citizens' activities in Japanese society stimulated the policy debates of non profit organisations based on neo-liberalism and led to the establishment of Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the NPO Law) in 1998. The establishment of the NPO Law has enabled NGOs to have easier access to legal status, and a huge number of NGOs have come to obtain legal status as Specified Nonprofit Activity Associations (*Tokutei Hieiri Katsudo Hojin*). Consequently, opportunities for the governmental funding have been extended to even smaller scale NGOs which have no connection with the government, and this has led to the birth of a new type of NGOs working in international cooperation, which puts greater focus on development activities as a profession rather than assistance as volunteering.

The public recognition of NGOs as one of the main players in international development has more increased in the 2000s, and the systems of supporting the activities of Japanese NGOs have greatly improved in the last decade. However, due to the long term depression of the Japanese economy and low interest rates, the situation has been still difficult for NGOs both in human resources and financing. The following sections will explore the human resources and financing which support the activities of Japanese NGOs.

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addition, they joined international rallies at the G8 Summits at Cologne in 1999 and at Okinawa in 2000 (Shigeta 2005).

### 6.3. The Human Resources of Japanese NGOs

#### 6.3.1. Employment

Unlike famous international NGOs in Western countries, most Japanese NGOs are small scale and their activities are often supported by unpaid volunteers only. According to the JANIC's NGO directory of international cooperation in 2004, 176 out of the main 226 organisations have paid staff, and the total number of these paid staff of these 176 NGOs is 1,539 (JANIC 2004). This small number of NGOs' paid staff is partly because NGOs activities have been often associated with volunteerism and public understanding about the high expenditure for the employment of staff is not well accepted in Japanese society. As a result, NGOs are hesitant to increase the expenditure for employment for fear of losing public support to their activities.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the number of staff in most Japanese NGOs hardly reaches ten, and only a very limited number of large Japanese NGOs have a comparatively large number of paid staff with better salaries.<sup>99</sup>

#### 6.3.2. Japanese NGO Workers: young, high education and low income

The age distribution of Japanese NGO workers are skewed in the range of twenties and thirties and the turnover rate is very high (JANIC 2001).<sup>100</sup> The reasons of this phenomenon are not clear, but there are some possible speculations for this tendency. Firstly, the wages of Japanese NGOs are generally low when compared with those of international NGOs and other employment in Japan. Wage varies

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<sup>98</sup> In Japanese society, there is widespread conception on the use of donations that all the money collected from donations should be used for local people of recipient countries, and expenditure for personnel is not well understood as ordinary project costs. Lack of public understanding on personnel costs in Japanese society is also reported by research conducted by MOFA (MOFA 2006).

<sup>99</sup> For example, amongst larger NGOs OISCA has 114 paid staff in total. Shanti Volunteer Association has 24 paid staff in Japanese office, 158 including 143 local staff in overseas offices. World Vision Japan has 43 paid staff in total; JOICFP has 44 in total; AMDA has 15 in Japanese office and 25 including 10 local staff overseas. (JANIC 2004).

<sup>100</sup> According to the research conducted by JANIC on human resources of 137 Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation, 60% of paid staff are in their twenties and thirties, and they normally stay around four years. (JANIC 2001)

depending on the scale of NGOs. Around JPY2.5 million (around US\$20,000) is the average annual wage of full-time paid staff (JANIC 2001). With this wage scale, older generations find it difficult to maintain their normal life in Japan if they have families to support, especially if they have teenage children. This is one of the main problems which Japanese NGO workers have to face in sustaining their work and livelihoods.

Another reason is partly related to the trajectory of the Japanese economy and Japan's ODA. With the increased scale of Japan's ODA in the 1980s, international cooperation became familiar to Japanese people and so did development studies. With the boost of the Japanese economy in the 1980s, there was an upsurge of Japanese people studying for postgraduate degrees overseas. Since then development related studies have become one of the most popular courses for those young people who wish to study overseas because there were not many Japanese universities which had expertise on development studies until recently. The increased number of Japanese experts on development related studies has led to the increase of Japanese universities with the department of development studies, and development studies have also become popular for university students in Japan. As a result, there is more demand for development related jobs amongst younger generation, not only amongst those who have degrees in development studies but also those who do not.

The tendency of NGO staff to have comparatively higher education has been confirmed by the research of JANIC. According to JANIC in 2001, 83% of the paid staff of NGOs have finished higher education with 52% having undergraduate degrees, 5% master degrees in Japan, 8% master degrees overseas, 1% doctorate degree in Japan, and 1% doctorate degrees overseas (JANIC 2001). For those young people who wish to have direct engagement in development activities, employment and internship in Japanese NGOs is an entry point to accumulate their experience. However, still, places for the employment are not abundant even in NGOs, especially when they prefer direct engagement in projects in the South to administrative work in Japan. The number of Japanese NGOs which have direct projects in the South is further limited. Many of the activities of Japanese NGOs are to provide financial

support to private institutes or groups, at best community based organisations. Japanese offices of large international NGOs such as Plan Japan often do not have many projects but focus on fundraising activities for child sponsorship in Japan. The engagement in these places is normally not so attractive for those young people who wish to be engaged in international development. Furthermore, working experience in development projects is highly advantageous in applying for positions in domestic and international development organisations. As a result, more than a few young people consider low salary as acceptable as long as they can be engaged directly in development activities in the South. They can compromise because they will seek better positions in governmental or private development organisations in future with their experiences in NGOs.

#### 6.4. The Scale of Japanese NGOs

##### 6.4.1. The Financial Status of the Japanese NGO Sector

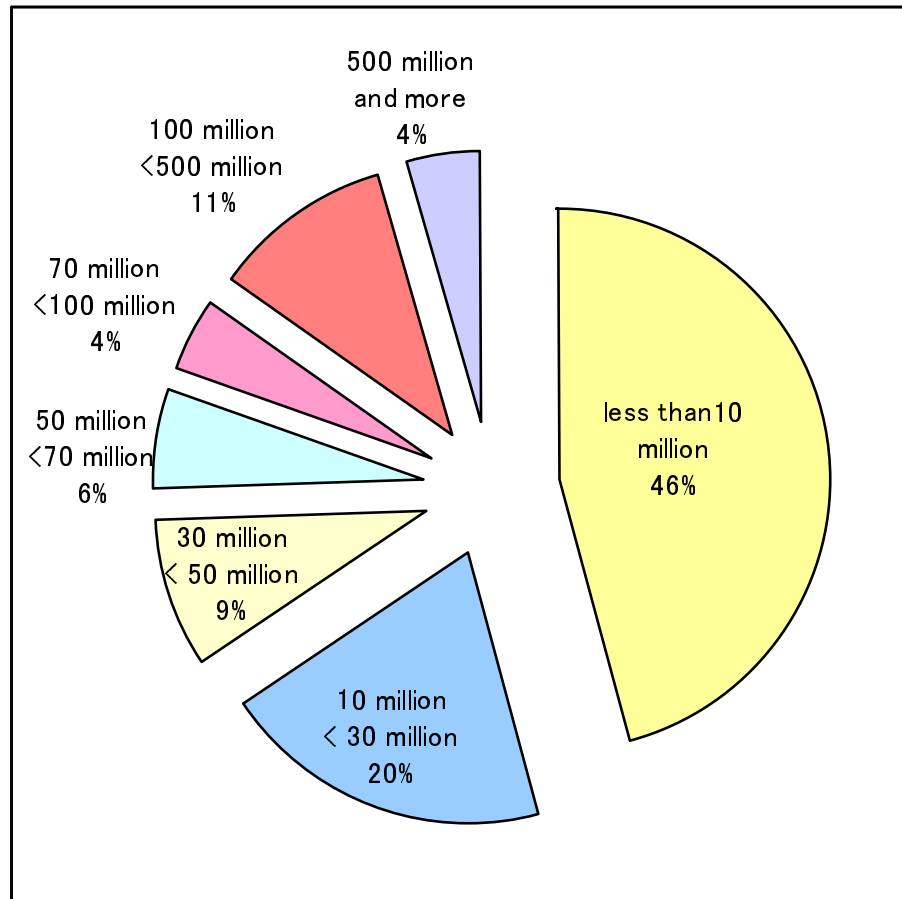
When we look at internationally prominent NGOs such as Oxfam and Save the Children, the scale of Japanese NGOs is apparently too small to be compared with. The grand total of the incomes of 273 Japanese NGOs for the fiscal year of 2004 in JANIC's *NGO Directory in International Cooperation 2006*<sup>101</sup> was JPY 28.8 billion<sup>102</sup> (about US\$239.8 million) (JANIC 2006). The largest income was JPY4.9 billion (about US\$41 million) of Plan Japan, and there were 21 NGOs whose income was less than JPY1 million (about US\$8,300). Even when compared with medium or small scale international NGOs, Japanese NGOs look very small. Scottish

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<sup>101</sup> JANIC's NGO Directory for 2006 has made some change concerning the scale of NGOs which were targeted in the questionnaire survey. The classification in the categories was abolished, and instead, the eligible condition for the minimum independent income was set; NGOs which have 25% of independent income and more, or as much independent income as ¥1 million (JANIC 2006). As a result, the total financial scale of Japanese NGOs was enlarged due to the decrease in the number of small NGOs which were not eligible for the questionnaire survey in the new edition.

<sup>102</sup> The grand total was calculated with the declared income by each NGO which is classified into the first category and the second category, which was explained in the previous section in this chapter.

**Figure 6. The Financial Scale of Japanese NGOs**



Sources: made by the author with the data from JANIC (JANIC 2006)

Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF), a Scotland based religious NGO, for example, considers itself as a small NGO in Britain,<sup>103</sup> whose total income was almost £6 million (US\$10.5 million) for 2004.<sup>104</sup>

Compared with British NGOs as a whole sector, however, the financial scale of Japanese NGOs is comparable with that of British NGOs although they are still smaller than their British counterparts. Figure 6 shows the distribution of 273 Japanese NGOs on their total income for 2004 in JANIC's NGO Directory 2006. While 42 organisations, 26.4%, have more than JPY100 million (about US\$830,000) as their total incomes, 125 organisations, a little less than a half of all the Japanese NGOs, have less than JPY10 million (about US\$83,000). When categorised as NGOs whose income was under JPY30 million (about US\$250,000), the number reaches 179 organisations, which comprises 65.6% of all the NGOs in the directory, while the number of the NGOs whose income was more than JPY300 million (about US\$2.5 million) was 20 organisations.

On the other hand, according to a survey conducted on development NGOs in Britain in 2004, 62% of the British NGOs in the survey had less than £500,000 (about JPY 100 million) as the total income, and 17% has £2 million (about JPY 400 million) and more in 2003 (Goodey 2004), whereas 85.6% had less than JPY 100 million and 5.9% had JPY 400 million and more in 2004 in Japan (JANIC 2006). When we look at the number of large NGOs which have the total income of £ 5 million and more, there are 16 NGOs in the British survey (Goodey 2004) and six NGOs in Japan (JANIC 2006). The impression towards both countries might be different only because there are small numbers of huge prominent NGOs in Britain, but not in Japan. Basically, citizens' activities are seemingly supported by a large number of small scale NGOs in both countries.

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<sup>103</sup> From an interview about SCIAF conducted on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2002. "Compared with Oxfam and Save the Children, SCIAF is a small NGO in Scotland", (Paul Chitnis, Chief Executive of SCIAF). The total income for 2001 was reported as £3.8 million at the time of the interview.

<sup>104</sup> According to SCIAF, the income for 2004 was record income due to the increase of emergency donations for Darfur, western Sudan, and the Asian Tsunami, which reached as much as £1.3 million. Out of the total income of SCIAF, 75% is from donations (SCIAF 2005), and the religion arguably supports the donations.

#### 6.4.2. The Largest NGOs in Japan: Do they represent Japanese NGOs?

Even the number of large Japanese NGOs whose income is compatible with or larger than that of SCIAF, middle-sized NGO in Scotland, is extremely limited. There are only five Japanese NGOs, the total income of which exceeded JPY1 billion (about US\$8.2 million) in JANIC's NGO Directory 2006: Plan Japan,<sup>105</sup> World Vision Japan,<sup>106</sup> Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) Japon,<sup>107</sup> Peace Winds Japan,<sup>108</sup> OISCA,<sup>109</sup> and WWF Japan<sup>110</sup> (JANIC 2004). All of these organizations but OISCA and Peace Winds Japan are originated from International NGOs based in Western countries. Furthermore, the main activities of three organisations out of these six are not the implementation of development programmes in the South, but fund-raising activities in Japan.

Plan Japan, for example, is famous for its large scale fund-raising activities through the mass media with large expense for advertisement, and the focus of its activities is placed on fund-raising and programmes for its supporters. Out of its total

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<sup>105</sup> Plan Japan has the largest total income, which was as much as ¥4.9 billion (about US\$41 million) in the fiscal 2004 (from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2004 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2005) (Plan Japan 2005a).

<sup>106</sup> World Vision Japan has ¥2.95 billion (about US\$24.6 million) for the total income in 2004 with ¥1.1 billion (about US\$9.2 million) coming from its child sponsorship and ¥0.72 billion (about US\$ 6 million) from other donations (World Vision Japan 2005).

<sup>107</sup> The total income of Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) Japon for 2004 was ¥1.8 billion (about US\$15 million), out of which ¥1.68 billion (about US\$14 million), 93%, came from private donation in Japan.

<sup>108</sup> Peace Winds Japan (PWJ) is a new type of Japanese NGO which was established in 1996 to be mainly engaged in emergency relief and reconstruction projects in the areas of conflicts and disasters. With the success from the large scale of financial support from the Japanese government and the business sector, PWJ is one of the most successful NGOs in the recent years.

<sup>109</sup> OISCA is a faith based NGO, Japanese indigenous religion *Shinto*, and the only organisation which originated in Japan amongst these five large Japanese NGOs. Based on the *Shinto* Philosophy, OISCA conducted agricultural projects both in Japan and several Asian countries. The total income scale is as much as ¥1.1 billion in 2005, out of which ¥293 million (US\$2.4 million) was from the membership and ¥174 million (about US\$1.5 million) was from donations (OISCA 2005).

<sup>110</sup> WWF Japan is also a large Japanese NGO with its total income in fiscal 2004 (April 2004 – March 2005) of ¥941.6 million (about US\$7.8 million), out of which 20.4%, ¥192.0 million (about US\$1.6 million), was from the membership and 45.6%, ¥429.0million (about US\$3.6 million), was from donations from both private individuals and companies.



income, 71% ( JPY3.5 billion ;US\$29.2 million) came from donations, which were mainly supported by the 'Foster Parents' sponsorship, and 65% (JPY3.2 billion; US\$ 26.7 million) of the total expenditure was contributed to its headquarters, Plan International, in 2004 (Plan Japan 2005b). The main activities of MSF Japon lie in fund-raising and the recruitment of Japanese volunteers such as doctors, nurses, and administrators in order to send them for international relief activities by MSF France, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Spain, as well as relatively smaller domestic relief activities for emergency and homeless in Japan. In 2004, JPY952.3 million (about US\$7.9 million), which comprised 92.2% of the total expense for relief activities, was contributed to those by other MSFs (Medecins Sans Frontieres Japon 2004). WWF Japan is a little different to other NGOs working in international cooperation as the main focus of its activities is placed on environmental issues in Japan. Out of the total activity expense, 67% was used for its domestic environmental projects and research, and 21%, JPY76.3 million (about US\$636,000) was for its projects overseas. As the Japanese office of WWF, it also provided as much contribution as JPY44.9 million (about US\$374,000) to its headquarters, which comprised 12% of its total activity expense in fiscal 2004 (WWF Japan 2005). Unlike Plan Japan and MSF Japon, World Vision Japan has its own development programmes mostly in partnership with local World Vision groups in the South with the expenditure of JPY2.24 billion (about US\$18.7 million) for its own development projects.

These international NGOs in Japan are successful in collecting private donations mostly by their international prominence as well as the fund-raising strategy through the mass media with a large amount of expenditure for it. The total amount of private donations for these five organisations reached as much as JPY8.1 billion (about US\$67.3 million) in 2004. These NGOs have the medium scale of income even when they are compared with their counterparts in Western countries, and they are certainly the largest NGOs based in Japan. However, considering their activities and backgrounds, it would be difficult to regard these NGOs as representing Japanese NGOs, especially so the NGOs as Plan Japan and MFS Japon, whose roles lie mainly in providing contributions to their headquarters. Therefore, if

we talk about Japanese NGOs concerning their characteristics as Japanese, those large NGOs could not be dealt as good examples of successful Japanese NGOs.

## 6.5. The Financing of NGOs in Japan

### 6.5.1. Charitable contributions in Japan

#### *Weak Independent Financial Sources*

In discussions of Japanese NGOs' financing capacity, the issues of weak independent financial sources and heavy dependency on governmental funding are often pointed out by many authors (JANIC 2001; Hirata 2002a; Oshima 2002; Menju 2004; Shigeta 2005; MOFA 2006d). These problems of financial sources for Japanese NGOs are discussed in connection with limited tax incentives for charitable donations<sup>111</sup> and the absence of the tradition of giving in Japanese society (Yamamoto 1998; Atoda *et al.* 1999; Hirata 2002a). As these authors argues, without the tradition of charitable contributions, as seen in Christian evangelical tradition in Western countries, and with the exclusive tax deduction systems, most Japanese NGOs have difficulties in sustaining steady independent financial resources and rely heavily on government funding for their activities.

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<sup>111</sup> Tax deduction for donations requires another special government authorised legal status, *tokutei koeki zoshin hojin* or special public-interest promoting corporations. Only extremely limited number of NGOs with the *Tokutei Koeki Zoshin Hojin* status are eligible for such tax deductions (Atoda *et al.* 1999) There are only ten NGOs with this legal status, being engaged in international cooperation, which include OISCA, Shanti Volunteer Association, Plan Japan, WWF Japan, JOISEFP, Save the Children Japan, The Japan Red Cross Association, Nippon International Cooperation for Community Development, National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan, and UNICEF Japan have this legal status (MOFA 2004b) at the time of writing. In addition, the Certified NPO programme was set up by the National Tax Agency Japan in line with the taxation reform in 2001 to support the activities of NPOs through tax deduction for donations they receive. With this programme, more NGOs became eligible to receive tax reduction, but still the number is not so large. In 2006, the number of certified NPOs is 51, out of which twenty organisations are NGOs working in international cooperation (The National Taxation Agency Japan 2006).

Most Japanese NGOs certainly have difficulties in obtaining private contributions to their activities due to the limited tax incentives. However, do their difficulties derive really from the Japanese tradition in charitable giving? The answer for the question would be negative when we look at the example of charitable contributions through *Jichika*, Self-Governing Associations in English. *Jichikai* are community-based mutual help group organisations, the origin of which could date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The membership of *Jichikai* is households, not individuals, and about 90 percent of all the households in Japan are members of a *Jichikai*. *Jichikai* has multiple functions in Japanese society and plays its role as a communication channel between the communities and the local governments. Such activities as the circulation of information and official announcements and collaboration with the national census are made through *Jichikai*. Chairpersons of *Jichikai* are mostly local leaders with some political influence (Amenomori and Yamamoto 1998). As part of mutual help activities in *Jichikai*, the committee members of *Jichikai* conduct door-to-door collections of charitable contributions so as to provide funding to certain organisations for mutual help under the Law.

In Japanese society, there might not be a tradition of charitable contributions based on the individual voluntary will as in Western countries, but, arguably, there is different tradition in charitable contributions based on the activities of the communities. The amount of such charitable giving is not too small to be ignored. Therefore, it could be said that the system of charitable contributions indeed exists in Japanese society, and the real problem of the charitable giving system for Japanese NGOs would lie in its strong connection with the government and exclusive access to the money collected. Only a very limited number of organisations have access to the money. Amongst these are the Community Chest,<sup>113</sup> the Japan Red Cross Society,<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The tradition of charitable contributions was inspired by Nagaoka, president of Community Action Development Organisation, who pointed out the influence of UNICEF over the fund-raising activities of Japanese NGOs.

<sup>113</sup> The Community Chest is an organisation which conducts Community Chest Activities for fund-raising to support Social Welfare Corporations under the Social Welfare Services Law of

and UNICEF Japan.<sup>115</sup> The Community Chest (*Kyodo Bokin*), for example, is heavily dependent on fund-raising through *Jichikai*, and more than JPY20 billion (US\$ 167 million) are collected annually by its mass fund-raising campaign through *Jichikai* (Amenomori and Yamamoto 1998: 13). The total revenue of the Community Chest from donations and membership fees was JPY 39.9 billion (US\$ 332.4 million) in 2004 (Nikkei Business 2006). The Japan Red Cross Society raised as much as JPY28.7 billion (US\$238.7 million), out of which JPY21.7 billion (US\$180.8 million) was private donations through *Jichikai* in 2004 (Japan Red Cross Society 2005).

UNICEF Japan has a different position to the Community Chest and the Japan Red Cross Society, but it still has access to charitable giving through *Jichikai*. The percentage of private donations raised through *Jichikai* is not clear, but the total income of UNICEF Japan was JPY18.4 billion (US\$153.6 million), out of which UNICEF Japan received JPY15.7 billion (US\$130.8 million) from its fund-raising activities (UNICEF Japan 2005). The amount of the revenue from the fund-raising activities is about three times bigger than UNICEF UK in the same year.<sup>116</sup> UNICEF Japan is not included in the JANIC's NGO directory as a Japanese NGO working in international cooperation because it is treated as a part of the UN related organisations in the directory. However, the scale of revenues of UNICEF Japan from private donations is compatible with international NGOs in the West,<sup>117</sup> and

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1951 (Amemiya 1998; *Kyodo Bokin* 2005). The private donation collected by the Community Chest is utilised for the domestic activities in Japan.

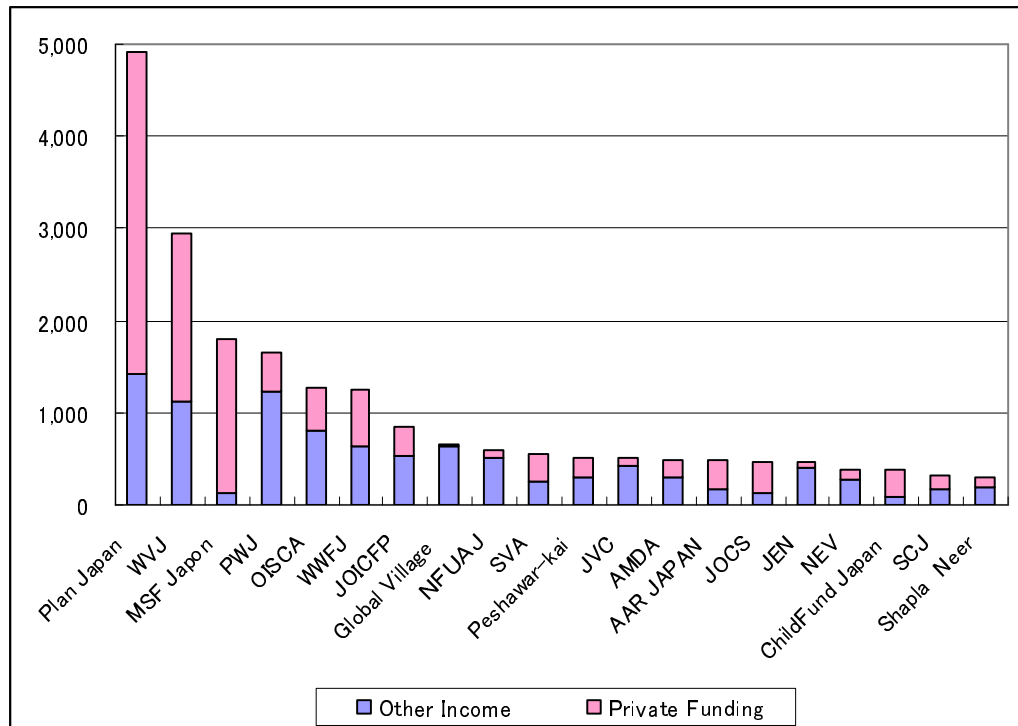
<sup>114</sup> The Japan Red Cross Society is a special corporation under the Japanese Red Cross Society Law of 1952. The Honorary President is Her Majesty the Empress and Honorary Vice-Presidents are other members of the Imperial Family

<sup>115</sup> UNICEF Japan is one of the greatest contributors amongst to UNICEF National Committees, contributing US\$103 million in 2004 (UNICEF 2005). Most private contributions are made to UNICEF through National Committees. UNICEF Japan was founded in 1955 to raise private funds in Japan for UNICEF (UNICEF Japan 2005). Before the establishment of UNICEF Japan, The Community Chest had raised funds for UNICEF from 1951 (*Kyodo Bokin* 2005).

<sup>116</sup> UNICEF UK received £25.4 million from fundraising activities, including supporter donations and legacy gifts in 2004/5 (UNICEF UK 2005)

<sup>117</sup> The incomes of Oxfam GB from donations were £76.3 million (US\$127 million) in 2003 (Oxfam 2004) and £115.8 million (US\$193 million) in 2004 (Oxfam 2005) The incomes of Save

**Figure 7. Total Income and Income from Private Funding**



Sources: NGO Directory in International Cooperation 2006 (JANIC 2006)

the Children UK from donations and gifts were £34 million (US\$56.7 million) in 2003 (Save the Children UK 2004) and £45.4million (US\$75.6 million) in 2004 (Save the Children Japan 2005). Both of these organisations have increased the revenue from donation due to the impact of the Tsunami disaster in 2004.

the donations to UNICEF Japan are perceived the same as private contributions to NGOs working in international cooperation in Japanese society. If UNICEF Japan is considered as one of Japanese NGOs engaged in international development as is Nippon Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan. The scale of Japanese NGO sector could be nearly doubled. In this sense, fund-raising by UNICEF Japan has critical influence over donations to Japanese NGOs.<sup>118</sup> Nagaoka, president of CanDo, told his experience concerning the influence of UNICEF Japan over fund-raising activities for his organisation as follows;

When we ask people for donation to our organisation, we often meet the refusal with the reason that they have already made contributions to UNICEF Japan. (from an informal interview on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2006)

It is hard to identify the whole picture of Japanese private charitable giving only with the examples of these three organisations. However, these examples could be of help in concluding that there is certain tradition of charitable giving in Japanese society and that charitable contributions made by Japanese people are largely incorporated into the government system, which hampers the fund-raising activities of Japanese NGOs to a certain degree.

#### 6.5.2. Successful Fund-Raising

Fund-raising would be the internationally common agenda for NGOs all over the world. The situation is critically serious for most Japanese NGOs due to the background factors in charitable contributions in Japanese society which was discussed in the previous section. This situation is confirmed when we look at the percentage of income from fund-raising activities amongst larger Japanese NGOs. There were twenty NGOs whose income exceeded JPY300 million in 2004, and ten out of twenty NGOs were successful in attaining more than 40% of their total income from their fund-raising activities (JANIC 2006).

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<sup>118</sup> The private donation for UNICEF Japan is inspired by Nagaoka.

In 2001, JANIC made research on fund-raising activities by Japanese NGOs and concluded that the characteristics of successful NGOs in fund-raising activities were NGOs (1) which had child sponsorship, (2) which had specific supporting groups such as Christian Churches, Buddhist Temples and private companies, and (3) which were engaged in emergency relief and have frequent public appeals through the mass media (JANIC 2001). This analysis of JANIC was also confirmed by a close look at those successful NGOs in their fund-raising in 2004. Amongst these ten NGOs, four were Japanese offices or alliances of prominent International NGOs which conduct frequent public appeals through the mass media; Plan Japan, World Vision Japan, MSF Japon, WWFJ, and Save the Children Japan (SVCJ), and four have close relationships with faith-based groups: Shanti Volunteer Association (SVA) is Buddhist; Peshawar-kai, Child Fund Japan, and Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service (JOCS) are Christian. The other two are engaged in emergency relief; Association for Aid and Relief, Japan (AAR Japan) and Peace Winds Japan (PWJ).<sup>119</sup> Amongst these ten NGOs, Plan Japan, World Vision Japan, and Child Fund Japan conduct child-sponsorships.

Significant is the success of these Japanese offices or alliances of international NGOs in fund-raising activities. The main reasons for their success, arguably, rely on their international prominence and their financing capacity for advertisement.<sup>120</sup> Although people are hesitant to make individual donations, there

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<sup>119</sup> The share of the income from donation and membership fees of these ten NGOs were as follows; MSF Japon (93%), Child Fund (76%), JOCS (73%), Plan Japan (71%), AAR Japan (63%), World Vision Japan (63%), SVA (52%), WWF (49%), SC Japan (46%), and Peshawar-kai (44%) (JANIC 2006).

<sup>120</sup> Plan Japan is famous for its scale of advertisement through the mass media and spent ¥195.8 million (US\$1.6 million) purely for the expense of advertisement in the fiscal 2004 (Plan Japan 2005b). With that large expenses for advertisement, Plan Japan was successful in raising as much fund as ¥3.5 billion (US\$29.2 million) in 2004. The advertisement expense comprised 5.2% of the total project expenses and 33% of the domestic project expenses of Plan Japan in 2004. The pure expense for advertisement of MSF Japon was not clearly mentioned in its accounting statement, but MSF Japon made as much expense as ¥219.4 million (about US\$1.8 million) for public relations which included the expenses for advertisement and newsletters was as much as (Medecins Sans Frontieres Japon 2004). World Vision Japan spent less than those three organisations, but still it had the ability to expend as much as ¥83.6 million (about US\$ 700,000) purely for its advertisement (World Vision Japan 2005). The amount of the expense for the

are still a certain number of Japanese people who are willing to make donations for the activities of NGOs working in international cooperation, especially for emergency relief activities. Money from these people is seemingly concentrated on the organisations which people know through advertisement in newspapers, magazines, and the internet because opportunities for many Japanese people to know activities of NGOs working in international cooperation are largely limited to advertisement through the mass media (NTT-X 2000).<sup>121</sup>

The fund-raising strategy through the mass media is costly and often criticised as being too commercialised in the Japanese NGO community. Therefore, quite a few Japanese NGOs have made a decision not to employ the fund-raising strategy through the mass media for the expansion of their activities and to keep the scale of their activities small. As a result, only NGOs with willingness and financial capacity to employ the mass media for advertisement are successful in attaining a large amount of donations from private individuals who are willing to participate in NGO activities. Consequently, many Japanese NGOs are small and heavily rely on the governmental funding for their activities, which leads to another problem of Japanese NGOs.

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advertisement is very much smaller than Plan Japan, but this amount is even larger than the income of 80% of all the Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation.

In addition, following the success of other International NGOs, Save the Children Japan made a decision to strengthen its marketing strategy for fund-raising and the collaboration with other Save the Children alliances in other countries in 2004. The income of Save the Children Japan from membership fees and donations was ¥324.5 million (about US\$2.7 million), expending as much as ¥40.2 million (about US\$0.33 million) for public relations in 2003 (Save the Children Japan 2004). After changing its strategy for marketing in 2004, Save the Children Japan increased its budget for public relations up to ¥158.1 million (about US\$1.3 million), about 400% increase, in 2005 (Save the Children Japan 2005) and ¥192.3 million (about US\$1.6 million) in 2006 (Save the Children Japan 2006). The result of the decision by Save the Children Japan is too early to see, but the strategies for fund-raising by Japanese offices or alliances of prominent international NGOs seem to be working well in Japanese society.

<sup>121</sup> A survey on the Japanese popular recognition of NGO activities was conducted with 6,136 participants by NTT-x, a marketing company, in 2000. According to the survey, only 7.5% were 'very interested' in NGO activities, whereas 49.0% had 'some interest' in NGO activities and 31.0% were not interested in NGO activities. 40% agreed the active support to education and self-help in developing countries. Most of information sources of NGO activities were concentrated on advertisement by TV, radio, the internet and magazines, and other sources limited to leaflets and posters in public places or the stories from parents and friends (NTT-X 2000).



## 6.6. The Scope of Japanese NGOs

### 6.6.1. Target Geographical Areas: Concentration on Asia

Japanese NGOs activities are mainly concentrated on countries in Asia. The data of JANIC's NGO Directory 2006 show that 65% of Japanese NGOs have activities in Asia, 16% in Japan, 14.3% in Africa, 3% in Latin America, 3% in East Europe, and 3% in the Middle East. Amongst Asian countries, the Philippines, Cambodia, Thailand, and Nepal are the greatest recipient countries of Japanese NGOs and 39 NGOs are working in Africa. In Africa,<sup>122</sup> Kenya has the largest population followed by Uganda, Ethiopia, and Zambia (JANIC 2006).

The reasons of this concentration of NGOs on Asia lie in their history and funding sources. In the early years of Japanese NGO history, many NGOs were established in response to the Indochina crisis in the late 1970s. Since then, these Japanese NGOs have gradually extended their activities from emergency relief to development related issues in the region (Hirata 2002b). Secondly, Japan has strong connection with Asian economy, and more information on Asian countries comes into Japan than that on other parts of the world. As a result, Japanese people have more sympathy or empathy towards marginalised people in Asia, which might lead to the incentives of some groups of people to have activities in countries in Asia. Thirdly, there used to be some public and private funding which was designated to activities in Asia.<sup>123</sup> Japanese ODA has a large share in Asia, which have certain

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<sup>122</sup> Although the number in each country is small, Japanese NGOs' activities are dispersed in twenty three African countries, which include Uganda, South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Mali, Zambia, Mauritania, Guinea, Eritrea, Senegal, Angola, Burkina Faso, Malawi, Congo Republic, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Madagascar, Chad, and Rwanda (JANIC 2006).

<sup>123</sup> The Japan Foundation, for example, had its Asia Centre before the re-establishment as an Independent Administrative Institution in 2003, and carried out programmes for Asia such as "the Promotion of Intellectual Exchange in Asia Region", and "the Grant Programmes for Grassroots Exchange in Asia" for which Japanese NGOs are also eligible to apply. In 2003, the share of the projects in Asian countries was 69.1% of the total budget (¥735 million: US\$6.1 million) for the Grant Programmes for Grassroots Exchange by The Japan Foundation (Japan Foundation 2003). Asia Centre was integrated into The Japan Foundation and the programmes designated only for Asia were also abolished in October 2003.

influence over Japanese NGOs' access to public funding outside and inside of ODA as well.

Even in the academic field, studies on Japanese NGOs tend to be concentrated on NGOs' experiences in Asia although the volume of study on Japanese NGOs itself is very limited. For example, Shigeta, who has discussed NGOs' role restrictively in Asia, argues that the essential aim of Japanese NGOs is Asian "co-existence" society, where various people and the nature live in harmony with one another with justice and that the leaders of Japanese NGOs promote activities for "co-existence" society to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, to create rich inner space which is alternative to Western-style modernisation as material civilisation, to build participatory society with various people, and to overcome injustice and unfairness (Shigeta 2005: 282). His argument would be right to a certain degree, but Japanese NGOs are working not only in Asia. His argument raises a question on the motives and values of Japanese NGOs in other parts of the world. In the changing global context, the Japanese government is having a gradual shift from Asia to other parts of the world such as Africa and the Middle East.<sup>124</sup> In accordance with the change of the surroundings, target geographic areas for Japanese NGOs have been expanding to other parts of the world as well. In this circumstance, a study on Japanese NGOs in other parts of the world than Asia would be crucial in thinking about the future direction of Japan's international cooperation.

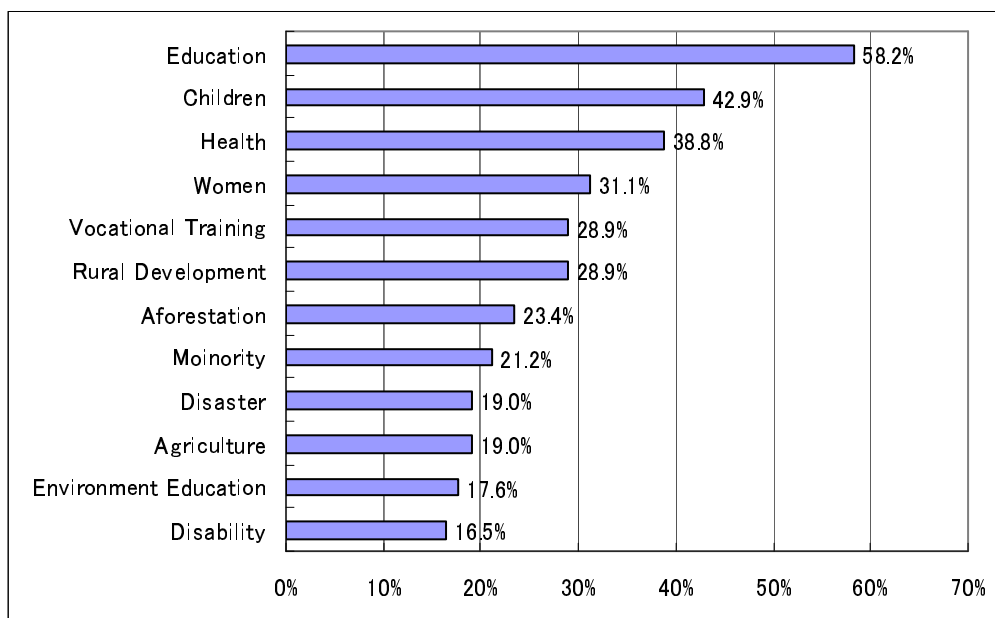
#### 6.6.2. Activities

*The* Similar to NGOs in other parts of the world, the main activity area for Japanese NGOs is education. In the data of JANIC's NGO Directory 2006, education is the area in which the largest number of NGOs are working, followed by children,

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<sup>124</sup> In NGO-JICA Council Meeting in September 2004, JICA officials explained on the reform of JICA to the attendants that they newly established Africa section in order to strengthen their response to the issues in Africa as well as Peace-building section in order to take more active action for human resources and better coordination concerning peace-building (JICA 2006)

**Figure 8. The Main Activity Areas of Japanese NGOs**



Sources: Formulated by the Author with the data  
from JANIC's Directory of Japanese NGOs 2006 (JANIC 2006)

health, and women (JANIC 2006).<sup>125</sup> More than half of all the Japanese NGOs in the directory have some in a survey by Goodey in 2004.<sup>126</sup> Education is an area which requires activities from the activities in education, and the trend is quite similar with the activity areas of British NGOs policy level to the individual level: any countries, communities, and parents have some level of concern over education. In this sense, education could be an easy entrance for NGOs to start their activities in many places. The NGO in this research, CanDo, is engaged in education, health and the environment focussing on children and women. In this sense, CanDo's activities are typical amongst Japanese NGOs.

### *Activities in Education and Learning Organisations*

Triggered by the Indochina crisis in the late 1970s, several Japanese NGOs were born to start their development activities. According to Shigeta, the basic principle of Japanese NGOs since then is to give a hand to help self-help efforts of marginalised people who have little access to social services of the governments and assistance from international aid agencies. In the early days, their assistance was mainly conducted through the way of sending Japanese expertise and staff so as to provide technical assistance and relief aid to recipients, which was very similar to JICA's Technical Cooperation. As time went on, transformation has taken place for some Japanese NGOs to take more participatory approaches in their activities (Shigeta 2005). If what Shigeta argues is true, how are Japanese NGOs conducting their development activities? In order to explore the current activities, let us have a closer look at the activities of the member organisations of Japan NGO Network for Education (JNNE)<sup>127</sup> as well as their activities in the network.

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<sup>125</sup> These categories are the ones made in the JANIC's NGO directory.

<sup>126</sup> According to the data by Goodey, 54% of British NGOs in the survey were engaged in education as their main activity area, 45% in development awareness, 45% in health, 34% children and 27% disaster and relief (Goodey 2004).

<sup>127</sup> JNNE was established in 2001 for networking amongst NGOs working in the field of education. In 2006, 25 Japanese NGOs participate as the members of JNNE with two universities

The aims of JNNE are to give policy recommendations and to conduct research activities and seminars to strengthen the capacities of NGOs as well as to promote experience sharing amongst NGOs with the financial support of MOFA and MEXT. In JNNE, out of 25 member organisations, 13 (52%) are engaged in school construction with 12 (48%) in teacher training, 7 (28%) in adult literacy and in educational materials support, 6 (24%) in vocational training, 4 (16%) in scholarships, in early childhood development, and in health education, 3 (12%) in environmental education, and 2 (8%) in advocacy and in peace education.<sup>128</sup> The greatest percentage lies in school/classroom construction, which would be in part due to MOFA's preference for hardware assistance in its subsidies to NGOs (JNNE 2006). The current approaches taken in the projects of school/classroom construction involved the participation of parents as well as other local stakeholders and are very different to the conventional school construction projects in Japan's ODA where good classrooms in the Japanese standard are often built by Japanese companies.

Behind the transformation of their approaches lies the strong interest of the member organisations in participatory approaches in implementing their projects. Seminars and workshops on participatory approaches as well as other topics are regularly held so as to share experiences amongst the member organisations and to learn from Southern NGOs and international aid agencies such as UNICEF.<sup>129</sup> The member organisations are actively engaged in collaborative programmes which include regular meetings with MOFA officials and seminars with the invitation of the staff of international aid agencies. Research projects were annually conducted collaboratively with the Centre for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) Hiroshima University under government funding. In 2004, for example, research on school management by community participation was conducted

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(The Centre for the Study of International Cooperation in Education, Hiroshima University and Ochanomizu University) as its supporting members.

<sup>128</sup> The data is based on the member list of JNNE in March 2006.

<sup>129</sup> The observation was made by the author through the attendance of JNNE seminars to share the experiences in the projects of the member organisations on 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2004, 5<sup>th</sup> August 2004, and 10<sup>th</sup> November 2005 held in Tokyo, and informal interviews with the staff of the member NGOs of JNNE after the seminar confirmed the observation.

in Ethiopia and Cambodia with field work in the projects of Save the Children USA, World Learning, and CARE Cambodia (JNNE 2005). As far as these NGOs concerned, there has been a shift leaving from material assistance, and this shift has been strengthened by cooperation in the NGO community and between the government and NGOs, which could be considered as one of the key characteristics of Japanese NGOs.

## 6.7. NGOs and the Government

### 6.7.1. The Partnership between the government and NGOs

A drastic change occurred in the environment surrounding Japanese NGOs in almost two decades. The attitudes of the Japanese government towards NGOs have made a positive transformation towards building collaborative relationship with NGOs, conducting studies on Japanese NGOs to investigate what they are and how they are working. Based on the research and dialogues with Japanese NGOs, the Japanese government has consolidated its system to support NGOs' activities both in financing and in practice so that Japanese NGOs can enhance their capacity to take a more active role in international cooperation overseas. As discussed in Chapter 5, this partnership with NGOs in ODA has been conducted mostly under the promoting of "Citizens' Participation" to promote popular support for a huge volume of ODA budget.

After the turn of century, the global environment has changed, and difference in expectations towards NGOs has become apparent between MOFA and JICA due to the difference of their positions. For MOFA whose greatest concern lies in diplomacy, the current greatest expectation towards NGOs in ODA is their role in emergency relief and reconstruction activities in the areas of conflicts and disasters where the government finds it difficult to take prompt action due to its restriction in diplomacy and the international agreement. For JICA which does not necessarily have to concern itself with diplomatic aspects in ODA as an implementing agency under MOFA, its expectation to NGOs lies in their participatory experiences and knowledge at the grassroots and possibly in their role as contractors pursuing more cost-efficiency in competition with private consultancy firms. As a result,

governmental funding is becoming concentrated on those NGOs which respond to the expectations of MOFA and JICA. What, then, are their expectations? The following sections will look at the details of government support to NGOs so as to understand the environment in which Japanese NGOs are placed.

#### 6.7.2. The Government's Dialogue with NGOs

The attitudes of the Japanese government towards NGOs have changed a great deal in the 1990s, from suspicion to collaboration and dialogue. Following the World Bank, the Japanese government has prepared policy dialogue and schemes to support and nurture NGOs' activities, including research on Japanese NGOs and regular meetings between NGOs and government officials to explore programmes for collaboration. At NGO-MOFA Council Meetings in 1996, for example, NGOs raised such issues as the emphasis on hardware in NGO funding schemes, single year budgeting, the transparency of criteria for selecting grantees, and lack of funds for administrative costs (Hirata 2002a). These issues have been reflected in the new funding schemes for NGOs since 2002.

In addition, there is dialogue between NGOs and JICA. An NGO-JICA Council Meeting was launched in 1998 at the initiative of the participants in NGO-MOFA Council Meetings (Hirata 2004). The NGO-JICA dialogue is conducted in the Sub-Committee for Development Education and Review Session for JICA-NGO Partnership. Thus, through the support of MOFA and JICA, Japanese NGOs have obtained opportunities for their voice to be heard by the Japanese government. However, this voice is basically limited to the government schemes for NGOs, and there seems to be very little room for comprehensive advocacy towards Japan's ODA by NGOs.

#### 6.7.3. Governmental Financial Support for NGO Activities

Japanese NGOs obtained access to several sources of funding from multiple ministries and independent administrative institutions through Japan's ODA (Hirata 2002a). Thanks to the complicated ODA decision-making system, as discussed in

Chapter 5, these donors included MOFA, JICA, MEXT, the Japan Foundation, the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications (currently Japan Post), the Ministry of Forestry and Fishery, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and the Japan Environment Cooperation (currently the Environmental Restoration and Conservation Agency), all of which had their own funding schemes focussing on their issues. Against this background of increased governmental funding opportunities from various ministries and agencies, Japan witnessed an upsurge of Japanese NGOs in the 1990s.

In the 2000s, however, these financial supports for NGOs, except those from MOFA and JICA, have greatly decreased due the reorganisation of ministries and agencies in the Central Government Reform in 2002, and due to the extremely low interest rate.<sup>130</sup> With the decrease in funding from private foundations,<sup>131</sup> MOFA and JICA have been the greatest supporters of NGOs' activities in terms of schemes for financial assistance and capacity building. As a result, the situation has become difficult for NGOs whose target areas are different to those of MOFA and JICA, which could lead to loss of diversity in NGOs' activities. MOFA and JICA's schemes to assist NGOs have been revised in the 2000s in accordance with the dialogues with NGOs and the results of research on the problems and issues of Japanese NGOs. The current financial support programmes for Japanese NGOs conducted by MOFA and JICA are as follows.

#### *Financial Support to NGOs by MOFA and JICA*

Grant Assistance for Japanese NGO Project was made in 2002 to provide Japanese NGOs with funding from Grant Aid in ODA. Before that, the Grant Assistance for Grassroots Project, which was established by MOFA in 1989,

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<sup>130</sup> The Volunteer Postal Savings International Aid is a system established in 1991 where holders of the ordinary postal savings account can designate 20% of their after-tax interest to NGOs through Japan Post. Due to the zero-interest-rate policy in the 2000s, the system effectively does not work as financial resources for NGOs.

<sup>131</sup> Private foundations have also been suffering from the long-term depression and the low interest rates and this funding for NGOs has greatly decreased in recent years (Yamauchi 2004).



provided funding to both Japanese NGOs and non-Japanese NGOs<sup>132</sup> for development projects outside Japan. It had six categories with specific themes (e.g., development projects, consortium projects,<sup>133</sup> emergency and humanitarian relief, micro-credit funding, recycled aid goods' shipping, and antipersonnel land mine removal), placing a clear emphasis on grants for projects in emergency relief and reconstruction (LDP of Japan 2005). In 2005, a total expenditure of JPY1.2 billion (US\$10 million)<sup>134</sup> was provided to 67 projects by 38 NGOs in 26 countries, of which JPY534.2 million (44.6%) was for projects in Iraq, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Angola, Serbia, Tajikistan, Macedonia, and East Timor (MOFA 2006d).

The NGO Project Subsidy is a small funding programme which was established to be specially designated to Japanese NGOs in 1989. Until 2003 the budget of the scheme was allocated to development projects overseas as well as feasibility and evaluation research overseas to increase the implementation capacity of NGOs. Since 2004, the emphasis of the subsidy has been placed on capacity building and abolished the funding available for project implementation with this scheme. In 2003, for example, the total budget of the scheme was JPY256.6 million (US\$2.1 million), out of which only JPY6.6 million (2.6%) was allocated to capacity building, whereas the whole budget for the NGO Project Subsidy in 2005, JPY36.2 million (US\$0.3 million), was designated for that purpose.

Capacity Building Support to NGOs was established in 1999 to provide support for increasing the expertise and the management capacity of NGOs, and includes programmes such as the NGO Advisors, the NGO Study Groups, and seminars which mainly take place in Japan. MOFA has coordinated NGO study

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<sup>132</sup> The funding scheme for non-Japanese NGOs has been called Grassroots Human Security Grant Aid since 2002. The scale of the funding through the scheme started at ¥10 billion (US\$83 million) in 2002, increased to ¥15 billion (US\$125 million) in 2004 and then decreased to ¥11 billion (US\$92 million) in 2006 (MOFA 2006)

<sup>133</sup> Consortium Projects are defined as collaborative projects with other NGOs which are not necessarily Japanese NGOs, which makes it possible for Japanese branches of International NGOs to fund projects of their overseas alliances.

<sup>134</sup> The expenditure on the NGO projects through the contributions to Japan Platform was not included in the total expenditure.

groups since 2001 in the three fields of education, health care, and agriculture in the first four years, and has added the fields of disaster restoration and disability in 2005. JNNE contracted out the study group on NGOs in education in 2001.

In addition to the financial assistance directly from MOFA above, JICA has its own scheme to support NGOs' projects; the JICA Partnership Programme (JPP). The JPP is part of Technical Cooperation and implemented in the form of contract-out based proposals<sup>135</sup> applied by 'Partners' which include NGOs, universities, local government and public-interest groups in Japan. There are three types of contract in the JPP according to the scale and experience of the "Partners"; Grassroots Cooperation Support Type (*Kusanone Shien Gata*)<sup>136</sup> for smaller-scale and less experienced "Partners", Grassroots Partner Type (*Kusanone Partner Gata*)<sup>137</sup> for larger scale and more experienced "Partners", and Local Proposal Type (*Chiiki Teian Gata*)<sup>138</sup> for local governments. JICA started contract-out type programmes for NGOs in 1998, and the JPP was established in 2002 to reshape the programmes to explore more effective way of financial supports to Japanese NGOs. The total budget for the JPP was JPY1.58 billion, (US\$13 million) (LDP of Japan 2005), and 153 NGOs in total had contracts with JICA under this scheme, in 2004.<sup>139</sup> The most important characteristic of the JPP lies in its three-year budget system, whereas MOFA's programmes work on a one-year budget system. Although the programme is named as a "Partnership", the basic concept of the projects in the JPP is that Japanese NGOs implement their own projects according to their proposals to JICA, receiving monitoring and advice from JICA's overseas offices as well as their offices in Japan. CanDo has been funded with Grassroots Partner Type (*Kusanone Partner Gata*) of the JPP since 2003.

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<sup>135</sup> In the JPP, NGOs can submit their proposals for their own projects to apply for funding, but, once they are funded by the JPP, those projects are considered to be contracted out to the NGOs which submit the proposals. Those NGOs are treated as contractors of JICA projects.

<sup>136</sup> Three-year contract at the most with a total budget of under ¥10 million (US\$83, 300).

<sup>137</sup> Three-year contract at the most with a total budget under ¥50 million (US\$416, 700).

<sup>138</sup> Contract on the basis of the fiscal year.

<sup>139</sup> The breakdown was 88 NGOs receiving Local Proposal Type contracts, 27 for Support Type, and 38 for Partner Type in 2004 (JICA 2006).

In addition to the JPP, although the number is very small, some NGOs which are evaluated by JICA as having rich expertise and experiences have access to apply for the larger joint programme, “Proposal of Technical Cooperation (PROTECO)”. Under PROTECO, these NGOs are expected to be incorporated into JICA’s projects as contractors under bilateral cooperation. The scheme was launched in 2002, and by the end of 2004, only eight projects had been contracted out to Japanese NGOs (JICA 2005a).

#### 6.7.4. Other Support and Programmes for NGOs

##### *Learning Opportunities*

JICA has several programmes to support NGOs’ activities overseas and to help increase the expertise and capacity of NGOs. As part of its support programmes for NGOs, JICA provides learning opportunities; scholarships for NGO staff to take master degrees and ‘NGO-JICA Mutual Learning’ for NGOs staff and JICA officials. In 2003, this programme visited several NGO offices and JICA offices in Tokyo as well as the project site of an NGO and JICA in the Philippines to learn about their projects, implementation, and ideas. The programme is conducted with a view to deepening mutual understandings for the partnership between the two as well as to strengthen NGOs’ capacity to join Japan’s ODA (JICA 2006).

##### *NGO-JICA Japan Desk*

JICA’s overseas offices have other of supporting NGOs. The NGO-JICA Japan Desk is one of those found in JICA overseas offices in 19 countries.<sup>140</sup> The focus is placed mainly on Asia due to the number of NGOs in Asia as well as the strategy of the Japanese government in these countries. The Japan Desk undertakes different activities to support NGOs in each country, but their main roles lie in three

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<sup>140</sup> Those countries include India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, China, Nepal, Bangladesh, East Timor, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Myanmar, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Ethiopia, and Kenya (JICA 2006).

areas: the provision of local information necessary for Japanese NGOs' activities, activities concerned with JICA's collaborative programmes with Japanese NGOs which include the monitoring of and information provision on the schemes, and activities to strengthen the partnership between JICA and Japanese NGOs in each country.

In Kenya, for example, the Japan Desk is in secretariat to the Kenya ODA-NGO Network.<sup>141</sup> Originally, the ODA-NGO Network was established in 1995, before JICA set up the NGO-JICA Japan Desk, by staff of NGOs and JICA who were working in Kenya at that time. The main purpose of this network is to create a place for the people working for international cooperation to share their knowledge and information with the help of JICA staff. Through the network, the members hold regular meetings, currently bimonthly, and conduct activities such as visits to the projects of each organisation including those of JICA and local NGOs in Kenya.<sup>142</sup>

For the Japanese Embassy, the network seems to be useful as a place to publicise their grant programmes for NGOs and to collect Japanese NGOs' voice for its ODA and other issues such as the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) III in 2003. The issue of TICAD III was discussed in the ODA-NGO Meeting which the author attended on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2003. Criticism and suggestions to MOFA officials were made in the meeting, and it was difficult to know how much of this voice reached MOFA in Tokyo. Although its influence over the Japanese government policy was not clear, Japanese NGOs were given opportunities to voice their opinions to the Japanese government through the activities of the network.

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<sup>141</sup> Pronounced as *odango*, which means Japanese traditional cake in Japanese.

<sup>142</sup> While staying in Kenya as part of her fieldwork, the author attended in total eight ODA-NGO meetings. As one of the participants in the meetings in 2003, the author visited Kayole Children's Home run by a Kenyan NGO in Nairobi on 27<sup>th</sup> June, Moyo Children's Home run by a Japanese NGO in Thika, and a Grassroots Grant Project by MOFA in Kitui on 8<sup>th</sup> October, and CanDo's project in Mwinigi on 9<sup>th</sup> October.

#### 6.7.5. Operational Collaboration

##### *NGO-MOFA Joint Evaluation*

In addition to the assistance provided to NGOs, operational collaboration has been conducted between the Japanese government and NGOs through ODA. The collaboration has grown out of the policy dialogue between MOFA and NGOs and has been conducted in the form of joint evaluation of ODA projects (Hirata 2004). The programme was first conducted as “NGO-MOFA Mutual Learning and Joint Evaluation” in Bangladesh in 1997, Cambodia in 1998, Laos in 1999, and Vietnam in 2000 with the participation of MOFA, JICA, and NGOs, which visited both NGOs’ and ODA projects in each country. Hirata pointed out that such field-based assessment of project implementation covered only specific projects and that the utility of such assessment was limited, but she argued that such increased interaction between NGOs, MOFA/JICA led to the MOFA decision in 1999 to contract out ODA grassroots projects to NGOs on a regular basis (Hirata 2002a).

The aspect of mutual learning was transferred to the scheme of “the NGO-JICA Mutual Learning,” in 2001 and the joint evaluation is now conducted concerning MOFA’s programmes of assisting NGOs with the participation of a couple of NGOs, private consulting companies and other governmental organisations.<sup>143</sup> This shift in the collaborative evaluation could also be considered part of a more selective and concentrated approach towards NGOs by the Japanese government.

##### *Japan Platform: Support to Emergency Relief*

Accompanying the increase in conflicts and the necessities to respond with emergency relief in the 2000s, MOFA shifted the focus of its international

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<sup>143</sup> The joint evaluation in 2002 was conducted by JANIC and Nagoya NGO Center, MOFA, and a private consulting company (OPMAC *et al.* 2002). In 2003, it was conducted with JANIC, Nagoya NGO Center, and Action with Lao Children as well as MOFA, the Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development (FASID), and a consulting company (MOFA 2005a).

cooperation activities towards emergency humanitarian assistance and peace building activities from the perspective of 'Human Security'. Against this background, the advantages of NGOs in emergency relief have become recognised, and the system to support NGOs' emergency activities was established in 2000 in coordination and collaboration with Japanese NGOs, the government and business circles.

The Japan Platform (JPF) is such a system initiated by the representative of Peace Winds Japan to provide NGOs with financial support to carry out prompt emergency relief and reconstruction assistance in areas of conflict and natural disaster (Japan Peace Foundation 2004). The funding mechanism of JPF comprises a pool of funding contributed to by MOFA and the business sector<sup>144</sup> which is disbursed to affiliate NGOs<sup>145</sup> in accordance with the decisions of the JPF Councils.<sup>146</sup> MOFA contributed JPY580 million (US\$4.8 million) to JPF in 2001, JPY610 million (US\$5.1 million) in 2002, JPY700 million (US\$5.8 million) in 2003, JPY 2 billion (US\$16.7 million) in 2004, and JPY1.6 billion (US\$ 13.3 million) in 2005 (Japan Platform 2006; MOFA 2006a) for emergency humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan, Zambia, Iraq, Iran and Liberia. On top of the funding from the Grant Assistance for Japanese NGO Projects, the funding through JPF has also been provided to Japanese NGOs which are engaged in emergency relief and reconstruction projects. The hugely increased volume of the JPF by MOFA demonstrates the current focus on the role of NGOs in Japan's ODA.

## 6.8. Conclusion

As we have seen, many Japanese NGOs are small and their financial basis is very fragile due to the weakness of independent financial resources for their activities. Their human resources are heavily dependent on part-time workers and

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<sup>144</sup> JPF is also supported through donations from *Keidanren*, the Japan Business Federation, and other individual corporations in Japan (Shigeta 2005). The total donation from the private sector was ¥196.5 million (US\$1.6 million) in 2005 (Japan Platform 2006).

<sup>145</sup> In 2006, 24 NGOs were affiliated to members of JPF (Japan Platform 2006).

<sup>146</sup> The council consists of members from MOFA, *Keidanren*, NGOs, Foundations, academics and the press (Japan Peace Foundation 2004).

their salaries are generally low. However, this does not necessarily mean that the development activities by Japanese NGOs are low in quality. Japanese NGO workers have relatively high educational qualifications with expertise in international development, despite their poor working conditions due to the weakness of independent financing. Since the Cold War, government support has been strengthening the capacity of Japanese NGOs through a dramatic increase in financial support, and NGOs have also been responsive to the government through collaboration with the government and their fellow NGOs. This kind of 'harmonious' relationship with the government and amongst NGOs could be considered in part as the characteristic of the NGO community in Japan.

Unlike many NGO communities in Western countries, there is still some room for smaller NGOs to conduct their own projects using governmental assistance but without damaging their autonomy much. Firstly, the Japanese government is not as interested in Civil Society and democracy support as other main donors, due to its diplomatic use of ODA, especially with the United States. Secondly, NGO support through 'Citizens' Participation' is one of the crucial elements by which the Japanese government obtains popular support for its ODA. The government has not yet sufficiently trusted in the capacity of NGOs as contractors fully responsive to the needs of the government. Furthermore, most of the bigger NGOs in Japan are Japanese offices of International NGOs, so it is also important for the Japanese government to nurture genuine Japanese NGOs which are capable of demonstrating Japanese Civil Society and governmental cooperation with 'Civil Society' to the international community. Lastly, the government also has placed value on the knowledge and experiences of NGOs at the grassroots especially in Technical Cooperation by JICA. For these various reasons, small Japanese NGOs were enjoying generous support in terms of both financing and capacity building from the government.

However, there has been a gradual shift in the government support for Japanese NGOs, from comprehensive support to the enhancement of NGOs' capacity, to the concentrated and selective support for NGOs in recent years. The range of governmental expectations of NGOs' activities has been narrowed down, and the

government is becoming more responsive only to the needs of NGOs undertaking larger scale activities as contractors of government projects or as the providers of emergency relief. As a result, there are an increasing number of NGOs which have failed to get funding in some areas of their activities which fall outside the governmental focus. Together with the decrease in other sources of funding, Japanese NGOs, which used to enjoy generous support from the government, are increasingly facing the same crisis as smaller NGOs in Western countries and are losing the diversity of their activities.

As we have seen in chapters 3, 4, and 5, the international focus concerning foreign aid has been very capricious and keeps changing according to academic trends and international politics. The greatest victims of such capricious development fads are the beneficiaries of foreign aid: they have been deeply affected by the shifts in international cooperation. As NGOs are often working directly with local people at the grassroots, the transformation of NGOs' activities in concordance with such international trends is critically influential over the everyday life of local communities. In order for NGOs to avoid such grave influence, it is necessary to have enough independent financial resources to maintain target activities at the grassroots, as well as working with governments persuade them to allocate effective funding for NGOs' activities outside the target areas so as not to damage the diversity, one the greatest advantages of NGOs of NGO programmes. For many small NGOs, which are after all the majority of NGO community worldwide, the volume of funding does not have to be very large to maintain their activities, and even a small allocation of funding will do.

Such advocacy towards the public and governments requires small NGOs to expose their activities and to demonstrate their capability in development assistance. For Japanese NGOs, This is extremely crucial because the circumstances surrounding fund-raising issues are under the strong control of the Japanese government, and the problems can not be solved solely through the efforts of NGOs. In the NGO literature in Japan, there is almost no information on the actual activities of Japanese NGOs at the grassroots. Having grassroots knowledge and experience is treated as if it was the prerequisite of NGOs, but it is very difficult to know the exact



details of Japanese NGOs' activities. Hitherto, current research on Japanese NGOs' activities is very dry with very little detailed description on the activities and behaviours of individual Japanese NGOs, especially smaller NGOs, although research on the comprehensive picture of Japanese NGOs and the government system is fairly abundant in the Japanese academia. In order to fill this gap, the following two chapters will explore the details of a Japanese NGO in Africa, a continent which is to be a crucial area for Japan's international cooperation in the near future.

## **Chapter 7. CanDo: The Organisational Settings**

There is emerging consensus that the old strategies have failed in general – and nowhere is the failure more acute than in Africa. It is time to rethink development assistance from the ground up. (Ellerman 2003:173)

### **7.1. Introduction**

Japanese society witnessed an upsurge of NGOs in the mid-1990s. The new type of NGOs, whose activities are inspired not by anti-government movements but by international development, grew rapidly against a background where NGOs have had easier access to legal status as well as the governmental funding in international cooperation. Their experience and knowledge at the grassroots have been appreciated, and their development activities have had large support by governmental organisations through the decade. Even small organisations have enjoyed such governmental support for building their organisational capacity to conduct development activities in Asia and Africa.

The international political environment around the turn of the century, however, has brought a gradual shift in the circumstances surrounding Japanese NGOs. As discussed in Chapter 6, the Japanese government, especially MOFA, has been paying more attention to the role of NGOs in emergency relief in such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan than to long-term development activities. The governmental funding has gradually concentrated on large scale organisations which have the capacity to conduct emergency relief and reconstruction activities in cooperation with international aid agencies as well as International NGOs. Nonetheless, thanks to the complicated work-sharing amongst ministries and agencies in Japan's ODA, which was discussed in Chapter 5, Japanese NGOs have still secured funding for their development activities in other countries, but the situation has been becoming more difficult due to the wave of neo-liberalism which pursues cost-effectiveness

and a reduced government role. Especially for smaller Japanese NGOs, which have difficulties in fund-raising, the situation is having a critical effect on their activities on the ground, which would have a serious influence on the Japanese NGO community as well as the communities in which they are working in Asia and Africa.

Long-term development activities in marginalised communities are as important as advocacy and emergency relief activities in the alleviation of poverty, as discussed in Chapter 3. People are embedded in poverty for a range of reasons, and the needs of these marginalised poor differ greatly depending on their context and situation. In order to respond to these diversified demands, development activities which are carefully planned with a deep understanding of the local situation are required. This is not what we could expect from large governmental organisations. The diversified activities of NGOs are indispensable in international development. However, the information on the value of such activities by small NGOs is extremely limited.

This chapter aims to have a close look at a small Japanese NGO, one of the organisations newly established in the 1990s and engaged in community development, with a focus on education, health and the environment in Mwingi District, Kenya, in order to explore the activities, lifestyle, and development thinking of the NGO, as well as the role a small organisation can play in the different culture in Kenya. The chapter will pay special attention to the thinking of the small NGO about community development and its organisational setting as well as the situation of its project sites in the Eastern Province of Kenya.

## 7.2. The Organisational History

Community Action Development Organisation (CanDo) is one of the new Japanese NGOs which were born in the late 1990s when the Japanese domestic system to support NGOs was being established. CanDo is a small NGO which was established in 1998 by several people who had been engaged in NGO activities in Africa. CanDo has been engaged in rural development activities in a marginalised area in Kenya with only two small offices; one in Tokyo and the other in Nairobi.

The Tokyo office was registered as a Specified Nonprofit Activity Association (*Tokutei Hieiri Katsudo Hojin*) in 1999, and Nairobi office was registered as a Kenyan NGO with the Kenyan Non-governmental Organisation Co-ordination Bureau in 2000.

The background of the organisation lay in the collapse of a comparatively large Japanese NGO, African Education Fund (AEF), which had emergency relief and development activities in such African countries as Kenya, Tanzania, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.<sup>147</sup> AEF had expanded its international cooperation activities in a short time in response to growing needs, especially in emergency relief activities, but was dissolved due to the rapid expansion and the failure in gaining enough independent funding to secure such matching grants as that of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Some of the young staff of AEF established CanDo with the help of a senior member so as to realise their aspiration to be engaged in quality development activities in Africa no matter how small the scale of activities are. For one of the core members in the establishment of CanDo, it was only a couple of months after he started to work as a staff member in AEF when it was dissolved.

With such background to its establishment, CanDo has no relation to political activities or religious groups which would be of great help in providing financial support to development activities, unlike many Japanese NGOs as well as many Western NGOs. It is not easy for an NGO to sustain its projects without having a financial base from political groups or religious groups, and it is mainly private and government funding which has supported the activities of CanDo. In addition, CanDo is not involved in for-profit activities although it is very common for Japanese NGOs to be engaged in the sale of products of the country or regions where they have activities, partly in order to secure their financial status and to advertise their projects. The core members of CanDo made a decision to implement their ideology of development with the private and government funding and to rely only

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<sup>147</sup> In Burundi, the implementation of an actual project had not yet taken place, but a feasibility study was conducted with an intention to start a project.

on the quality of their projects. However, this always carries the risk that it might fail to obtain funding when its projects lose recognisable quality in the eyes of donors. This is especially true in Japan where private donation is extremely difficult to sustain.

### 7.3. Ideology: Assisting Local Efforts for Community-Defined Quality Society

#### 7.3.1. Mission and Objectives

##### *CanDo's Mission*

To Work in Partnership with Communities in Africa in Realising a Community-Defined Quality Society (CanDo 1998)

In the global arena, NGOs are often considered and sometimes proclaim themselves as “Catalysts for Change”. It is not an unusual view that NGOs could bring change in the beliefs of the community with which they work. Oxfam GB, for example, expresses their mission as follows:

Oxfam works with others to overcome poverty and suffering. The lives of all human beings are of equal value. In a world rich in resources, poverty is an injustice which must be overcome. Poverty makes people more vulnerable to conflict and natural calamity; much of this suffering can be prevented, and must be relieved. People's vulnerability to poverty and suffering is increased by unequal power relations based on, for example, gender, race, class, caste, and disability; women, who make up a majority of the world's poor, are especially disadvantaged. Working together we can build a just and safer world, in which people take control over their own lives and enjoy their basic rights. To overcome poverty and suffering involves changing unjust policies and practices, nationally and internationally, as well as working closely with people in poverty (Oxfam 2006: Website).

For Save the Children;

... the centre of its purpose lies on children, and they are trying to make a difference to children's lives. Save the Children fights for children in the UK and around the world who suffer from poverty, disease, injustice, and violence', and 'works with them to find lifelong answers to the problems they face" (Save the Children 2006: Website).

For both Oxfam GB and Save the Children, the key words for the change they pursue would be considered as “poverty and injustice” although there are also other important elements they are tackling in their activities. Let us look at the case of CanDo. The mission statement of CanDo is short and vague, but CanDo is working with the communities in order to bring changes in quality life decided not by the organisation but by the community itself. In addition, its objectives aimed at realising the mission statement are as follows:

(a) To contribute in securing access to quality basic education and health care for the community; (b) To protect the environment; (c) To assist local efforts in alleviating poverty, and; (d) To facilitate international cooperation and exchange at the citizen level. (CanDo 1998:1)

These objectives are pursued through projects in education, health and the environment which seek the attainment of a synergy where early childhood education, primary education, non-formal education for mothers, and community development together yield benefits in order to realise a community defined quality society. Each project in education, health, and the environment is independent but the combination of the projects is expected to have synergic effects, which each project cannot achieve solely, so as to achieve a better society defined by the local people themselves.

For CanDo, the most important phrase would be assisting local efforts to create “community-defined quality society”. It is not difficult to understand what CanDo aims to do; support to education, health, and the environment through its objectives. These are the common fields for NGOs to be engaged in. However, it might not be easy to understand “community-defined quality society”: what CanDo is going to achieve and how it is going to achieve it. This section will explore the attitudes of CanDo towards international cooperation and its development thinking, with a particular focus on its key works; assisting local efforts and “community-defined quality society”. An understanding of CanDo in this section is mainly derived from the materials such as “grey literature” and informal conversation with the staff of CanDo about their daily activities.

### 7.3.2. Local Efforts and the Role of Outsiders

In CanDo's view, development should be an activity to build more affluent and better livelihoods which are made by the community; and international cooperation does not mean giving aid or assistance to people who are waiting for something coming from outside. Therefore, the improvement in quality of life should be made by the local people through their own efforts and initiatives for change. This belief is shared by the Japanese government in the self-help effort orientation of Japan's international cooperation, but the difference with the Japanese government lies in the approach to self-help efforts. CanDo has placed more focus on non-monetary self-help than the Japanese government. CanDo believes that an improvement in quality of life can be realised only through the efforts of local people to recognise and confront problems they have in their community. CanDo also believes that the change requires the construction of a healthy cooperative relationship amongst various stakeholders in long-term perspectives of social development in order to achieve the goal of building quality life by the community itself.

With such beliefs, CanDo defines its staff as outsiders for the community. Both Japanese coordinators and Kenyan consultants, but especially Japanese staff, try to place a distance between CanDo staff and community members. The reason for the positioning as outsiders lies in the belief that the roles of both outsiders and insiders are independently important in development activities. It is members of the community who have the initiative for bringing change in their society and their role is critically important in development activities. At the same time, however, outsiders have their own role which is different to the role of the community in the development thinking of CanDo. If the staff members of CanDo try to behave as members of the community, their attention will tend to focus on assimilation into the community. The effort for assimilation would prevent the staff from identifying problems to be solved properly and could easily damage local self-help efforts. Therefore, the role of outsiders in development activities for CanDo is to think together as their "friends from the outside", to identify the situation, and to provide

necessary input at the appropriate time. Locally available resources should be respected and utilised for the input.

CanDo proclaims that development activities by outsiders do not mean bringing certain proscribed technologies and projects directly into communities, but exploring what is necessary for the community. For this reason, the main role of Japanese staff is as coordinators who make arrangements for projects and negotiations with relevant stakeholders through the help of local field assistants. The technologies and knowledge are mainly imparted by Kenyan consultants who have expertise in the subjects, and planning takes place in cooperation with coordinators and consultants.

Based on these beliefs and actions, CanDo declares its development strategies to the community as follows;

- (a) To respect and utilise locally available resources such as materials, human resources, and human networks in designing, funding and managing community-based development programmes and, if necessary, to foster existing resources;
- (b) To facilitate the flow of external resources including finance, technology and information when appropriate;
- (c) To encourage partnership amongst communities and between communities and government;
- (d) To promote study and research in development, and;
- (e) To raise, mobilise and disburse funds and other resources for the promotion of the objectives. (CanDo 1998: 1)

### 7.3.3. Empowerment and the “Enhancement of Social Capability”

Problems caused by poverty have various elements. CanDo’s analysis is that people in Africa find themselves in poverty due to a variety of reasons; natural disadvantages in rainfall, vegetation, soil condition, and serious infectious diseases; unstable social infrastructure and social services by public administration and the imposition of various labour work; the failure of development programmes by aid agencies and the governments; exploitation and subordination in diverse power relations. These elements are intricately intertwined with one another. Different approaches are enumerated by CanDo as strategies to solve problems which are due



to a combination of these elements; the re-construction of healthy administrative systems; advocacy at the policy level; the provision of Technical Cooperation projects and social welfare services to vulnerable groups at the community level; the support needed to mobilise activities to raise awareness of subordination and social change.

CanDo considers this approach as important in empowering the community through “the enhancement of social capability” exploring ways to solve problems by themselves. “The enhancement of social capability”, *shakaiteki noryoku no kojo* in Japanese, is the term created by Nagaoka. The translation agreed through discussion between the author and Nagaoka. The most difficult concept in the term was the translation of “*noryoku*”. *Noryoku* can be translated into any one of these three English words; ability, capacity or capability. The first choice for the translation of *noryoku* was either ‘capacity’ or ‘capability’. When the author suggested ‘capability’ as the translation for *noryoku* in the term, Nagaoka was a little hesitant because the word ‘capability’ implies a strong connection with Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach. He said, “I don’t know much about Sen’s Capability”. We agreed to leave aside Sen’s Capability and tried to think about the meaning of the words.

Both mean power to do something according to the dictionary. We first thought about the word ‘capacity’ as in the term ‘capacity building’ which is often used in the development discourse. However, we decided not to use the word ‘capacity’ because it has another meaning which is ‘the maximum amount that something can contain’. The term ‘capacity’ seems us to indicate the ability to receive something which is given. On the other hand, ‘being capable’ means having the ability necessary to do or to achieve something. ‘Capacity’ gives the impression of passive power or ability to do something, but ‘capability’ gives the impression of active power to achieve something. For us, the word ‘capability’ seems to more closely fit the objectives of CanDo’s activities. From such understanding of the meanings of the words, we decided to translate the term *shakaiteki noryoku no kojo* into ‘the enhancement of social capability’ in English. The term means to enhance the capability that the society has as a group of people.

This idea of “social capability” includes the capability to recognise and utilise the resources which exist in the community, to set the possible development goals by themselves, to establish cooperative relationship in and amongst the communities and in the various groups, to build the social consensus which leads to the recognition of the problems, the planning of their activities for problem-solving and behavioural changes, to utilise administrative system through good relationships with administrative officers, to undertake concrete activity planning, and to attain the necessary resources for their planning. Nagaoka explained on “empowerment” in the newsletter in 1999 as follows;

Empowerment literally means to give strength and power to someone, but we understand that empowerment is to strengthen such “capability of the community” to have a deep understanding of difficulties and problems which the community has and to seek solutions on which the community can work in order to realise the better quality of livelihood by themselves. (Nagaoka 1999:2)

This understanding of empowerment has been developed into the idea of “the enhancement of social capability” in recent years by Nagaoka. “The enhancement of social capability”, as one of the goals in CanDo’s projects now, could be seen as a parallel to “the empowerment” in a notable educational/community development project in Chile in the late 1970s: the *Programma Padres e Hijos* (the Parents and Children Programme: PPH). Following Freire’s Cultural Action, PPH pursued child development, the personal growth of adults, and community organisation through a literacy programme whose function was to teach parents the way to educate their pre-school children at home (Richards 1985). One of the important elements in PPH was discussion by *participants in the project* of their daily problems in teaching for pre-school children. PPH was, in part, a programme for the empowerment of the participants to “analyse and solve their own problems”, through better use of local information (Richards 1985:27). The ideological focus of the programme evaluated by Richards was placed on “organising solidarity” based on the Western understanding of the contemporary social maladies: loneliness; or isolation; or alienation; or the impossibility of discourse in the Frankfurt school; or the fragmented consciousness of the exploited classes suggested

by Antonio Gramsci; or the absence of God suggested by Raimundo Panikkar (Richards 1985:191) – most of which seem to me deeply related to Western individualism.

On the other hand, “the enhancement of social capability” does not place its focus on creating solidarity amongst marginalised people. For CanDo, the community already exists as a group which links people through lineage and other local elements. “Social maladies” for CanDo in its operation in Africa are not loneliness or isolation, but the malfunction of the system for a group in the community. Therefore, this social capability is considered to develop particularly through smooth social relationships and communication in communities where the rich and poor, or the power and powerless cohabit. In this sense, CanDo is hesitant to use the term “empowerment” and prefers the term “the enhancement of social capability”. The word “empowerment” sometimes implies confrontation with the local power structure, such as the creation of countervailing forces against the power and recapturing of the power of control. Unlike many advocacy-oriented NGOs, CanDo does not have any intention to pursue such social engineering in the community as a means of development. Rather, CanDo has put more emphasis on healthy cooperation between people with and without power, having the belief that the local community already has a tradition and potential to connect people in that community.

In addition, the notion of the empowerment of members of the community in the context of Western Individualism would mean the empowerment of individuals in the community, leading to the empowerment of the community as a whole. Great attention seems to be paid to the empowerment of marginalised individuals as a means of improvement. On the other hand, for CanDo, “the enhancement of social capability” means the nurture of the capability of the community as a group of people, not individuals. Attention is paid to the nurture of the capability of the whole community, which is made up of various groups of people; the rich and the poor; people with and without power. This empowerment of the entire community as a group is expressed by the term “the enhancement of social capability”. With the idea of “the enhancement of social capability”, CanDo’s

assistance is provided to the community as a group, not a selection of individuals, so that the community itself could nurture its capability to solve various problems by cooperation amongst its members through participation in CanDo's projects.<sup>148</sup>

#### 7.4. The Rationale for the Activities

CanDo has been engaged in comprehensive community development, focussing on education, health, and the environment in mainly rural villages in Mwingi District, Eastern Province, Kenya since 1998. The rationale for its activities is often explained in such grey literature as its newsletters and project planning.

Kenya was struggling throughout the 1990s, exposed to economic depression and accumulated debts, and many aid agencies were hesitant in providing aid due to the difficult relationship with the Moi regime. The Kenyan government could not provide sufficient social services, and education and health care especially would have been hardly maintained without active community participation. In such circumstances, in the view of CanDo, communities did not have much expectation of the government regarding the provision of enough social services and as such were willingly engaged in necessary activities to support their livelihood. CanDo believes that this community participation should be considered in the long-term vision of comprehensive community development and in the cooperative relationship amongst various stakeholders in the communities in order to achieve quality life defined by the community itself. The main issues in comprehensive development would lie in three areas; health care which supports and promotes the health of members of the community, conservation which supports the environment the community relies upon for livelihood, and education which nurtures human resources for the future of Kenyan society. Based on its analysis and experience in Kenya, CanDo concluded that projects which involve these three issues could be of help in strengthening or create activities in which the community has the initiative.

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<sup>148</sup> The details of how CanDo assists the community in nurturing its social capability will be explained in the next chapter.

In addition to the rationale behind its activities, Nagaoka repeatedly explained the reason CanDo has its main focus on rural development is as follows:

We focus on rural development. We believe that the problems of urban slums stem from the problems of rural areas. People come to urban cities because they cannot live in their own villages. Unless the problems of rural villages are solved, the problems of urban cities cannot be solved. That is why we pay more attention to rural development (Nagaoka in informal conversations on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2003).

## 7.5. The Staff

### 7.5.1. The Profile of Japanese Staff

#### *The Number and Age*

CanDo is just one of many small NGOs in Japan. The total number of paid staff is 2 in Japan and 16, including 12 local staff, in Kenya at the time of writing. Out of 12 local staff, two full-time coordinators, three full-time field assistants, one full-time office assistant, and six part-time consultants work in Kenya. Japanese staff in Kenya work as full-time coordinators with the help of three interns. Most of the Japanese staff of CanDo are in their late twenties or early thirties. This means that the age distribution is similar to that of many Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation (JANIC 2001) or perhaps a little younger as we saw in Chapter 6.<sup>149</sup>

#### *Educational Backgrounds*

In the case of CanDo, all of the staff have finished higher education and the majority of the current and former staff stayed overseas for a long period for development related studies or work before their working experience in CanDo. Nagaoka, for example, who is the only member over 40 years of age, started his career at a Japanese accountancy firm in the Philippines and Japan and was engaged in consultation on the venture business of Filipino companies. After working for the

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<sup>149</sup> According to the research conducted by JANIC on human resources of 137 Japanese NGOs in international cooperation, 60% of paid staff are in their twenties and thirties. (JANIC 2001)

accountancy firm, Nagaoka entered into the NGO community. He took an MA at the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands and had about ten years' experience of working in Japanese NGOs in several African countries such as Mali, Tanzania, and Uganda as well as Kenya<sup>150</sup> before establishing CanDo in 1998. His position entails working part-time with CanDo and part-time as a lecturer at two universities, for undergraduates in Japan. One current member took her Msc at Bristol University in Britain and was engaged in volunteering at a British NGO for six months immediately after her study before joining CanDo. Another member took her Msc at Pittsburgh University in the U.S. and spent internships at UNICEF in New York and at the Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development (FASID) in Tokyo before joining CanDo. Another had experience of working in Japanese NGOs in Africa. Yet another has taken diploma in Canada. Many of the former staff and interns have experience of studying in the U.S., Britain and other countries as well. Thus most of the staff and even interns have experience of either studying or working abroad before joining CanDo.

### *Internships at CanDo*

Most of the current staff came as interns to CanDo. The attitude of CanDo towards internship is extremely positive. CanDo is one of very few Japanese NGOs which are constantly open to provide opportunities for young people to be engaged in development activities at their project sites. The application requirements for internships at CanDo are not difficult to meet.<sup>151</sup> After the application screening, interviews take place with members of CanDo's board of trustees. The aim of internships is to recruit people who are of help to CanDo's projects, but more

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<sup>150</sup> For example, Nagaoka was engaged in projects for the environment and conservation in Mali, for refugees, education, and health in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya.

<sup>151</sup> The requirements for interns are to be a person 1) who understands and agrees with the philosophy of CanDo, 2) who is over 20 years of age, 3) who is determined to be engaged in development as his/her future career, 4) who can adapt to the rural life, and 5) who has the ability to use computers and English as a means of communication.

importantly to provide younger generations who seriously wish to build careers in development with opportunities and training to understand development and its reality in Africa. Interns joining CanDo's programmes are provided with free accommodation, insurance, and some financial assistance for the stay in Kenya which is as much as the salary of the Kenyan office assistant. After six months' working mainly with Kenyan staff at the project sites, some of them become staff of CanDo, some go back to study in universities, and others join other NGOs as staff and Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV), which is organised by JICA and equivalent to the Peace Corps in the U.S. and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in the UK.

This pattern is also reflected in the staffing of CanDo. As in other NGOs, the periods that staff work for CanDo are not long. Nagaoka is the only paid member of staff in the establishment although many of the former staff remain as members of the board of trustees. Younger staff change places after several years, an unusual occurrence in Japanese society where people prefer permanent jobs to short-term jobs. Working experience in CanDo is sometimes a stepping stone to bigger organisations such as JICA or a university. Of this tendency, Nagaoka expresses his opinion as follows;

I think it's OK for young people to leave CanDo to other organisations. I understand some people wish to work in bigger organisations after CanDo, even in international agencies. Of course, as president, I wish them to stay longer, but as long as their experience in CanDo is of help in their career and in development in Africa, I am quite happy with that. .. I believe one of the missions of CanDo is to train Japanese human resources (for international cooperation). (Nagaoka in informal conversation in 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2003)

It takes time and efforts to train young people to work independently, but after some years these people go to other organisation with their experience and ability to be engaged in development activities. In a sense, CanDo, like other NGOs, plays a role as a training institute in international cooperation for young Japanese people.

### 7.5.2. The Profile of Kenyan Staff

#### *Positions for Kenyans*

Compared with Japanese staff, Kenyan staff are more experienced and they are playing an important role in CanDo. CanDo offers three different positions for Kenyan staff. One is the same as Japanese staff, which is coordinator. Another is field or office assistant. The other is consultant. Both coordinator and assistant are full-time jobs, and consultant is a part-time position. Consultants are called upon when workshops and their preparations are conducted. Coordinators are responsible for the negotiation and preparation for the projects and field assistants are local residents of the projects sites and stay in the project sites to facilitate communication between CanDo and the community. CanDo pays careful attention to field assistants so as not to utilise them as information providers for CanDo and avoid creating a situation where field assistants feel forced to choose either their own community or CanDo during their work.

#### *Kenyan Coordinators*

The backgrounds of the two Kenyan coordinators are different. Evans used to be a secondary school teacher and was also an employee of AEF. After the NGO dissolved, Evans lost his job and joined CanDo after first working with the founding members as a volunteer. Kandali is a local resident of a project site and has experience of working in another NGO after studying agriculture in technical secondary school. He used to be a field assistant for CanDo and has been promoted to a coordinator after 5 years work for CanDo. Three field assistants were recruited from each of CanDo's project sites; Nu, Mui, and Nguni Divisions. They normally stay in a village where CanDo has a small office in each project site, and they assist coordinators by working as interpreters as well as mediators in communication between CanDo and the communities.

#### *Kenyan Consultants*



The role of expertise in the projects is played by Kenyan consultants in CanDo. Currently, CanDo has contracts with six consultants; three for health, one for education, two for construction. Another consultant is to be employed for the environment because the former consultant passed away. The backgrounds of these consultants vary. For example, Francis used to be a Public Health Officer (PHO) as well as having working experience in the African Medical & Research Foundation (AMREF), one of the largest Health related NGOs in Kenya. Agnes is a nurse working in a hospital, and sometimes helps Kaleli with the workshop. Miliam, who used to work in health centres as a laboratory technician, is a semi-consultant due to her lack of experience in the field, and she had Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) training at Kenyatta Hospital at the expense of CanDo. Now she is engaged in HIV/AIDS related projects. Margaret is a retired Teachers' Advisory Centre (TAC) tutor. Gabriel and Masibo are quantity surveyors for construction. Most of these Kenyan consultants are hired through introductions by people in CanDo's network in Kenya, which include JICA, other Japanese NGOs, and the former consultants of CanDo.

These Kenyan consultants are the sources of knowledge and technologies for CanDo's projects. They suggest ideas, make plans for workshops with the Japanese coordinators, and facilitate workshops as well as give professional advice on the projects. It would not be too much to say that the quality of the CanDo's projects relies on the quality of the Kenyan consultants. Although their role is very important to CanDo, most of the Kenyan consultants do not have higher academic qualifications. On the contrary, CanDo has avoided hiring people with such high academic qualifications as Masters or PhDs, or often even Bachelors. There are two reasons for this avoidance. In Kenya, like other African countries, people with such qualifications have high expectations and often seek for positions in large organisations such as international aid agencies and international NGOs expecting the same level of salary as foreigners. CanDo does not pay as good a salary as that of these international aid agencies. Although CanDo does not have any intention of exploiting Kenyans and this salary is still better than that in Kenyan organisations,

the salary of CanDo is not satisfying for those Kenyans with high educational qualifications as well as high expectations.

Furthermore, and more importantly, the expertise which CanDo expects Kenyan consultants to have is that which is practically useful in the reality of the grassroots in rural Kenya, not that which is universally practical. Quite often, Kenyans with high qualifications are not satisfied with such practical and simple tasks as CanDo expects them to do in Mwingi, and they are normally more ambitious. Therefore, what is important for CanDo in the employment of Kenyan consultants is not the high quality of education or the high level of expertise at all, but the ability adapted to the reality of rural circumstances and a personality which CanDo can easily cooperate with. The story of a former construction consultant, Martin, illustrates the employment of CanDo's consultants clearly.

Martin, who did his masters in Nairobi University but could not finish it due to a funding problem on the way, was in charge of designing model classrooms as well as giving advice for classroom construction to the community. Although he was very proud of his work and the projects he was engaged in, Martin often complained that his ability was under-utilised in CanDo, and that he needed bigger projects rather than classroom construction. He also complained about the wages of CanDo because he always compared his wage with that in the International aid agencies for which his brothers worked. After the completion of the study for his master degree while working in CanDo, he was successful in obtaining a position in a UN related organisation and left CanDo. (From the field notes in 9<sup>th</sup> September 2004)

### 7.5.3. The Employment of Local Staff in Project Sites

The job market in Kenya is very competitive both in the formal and informal sector. Although President Kibaki made a pledge that his government would create half a million new jobs annually at the opening of his parliament in 2003, there has been no indication that the government has taken such action for job creation even two years after the pledge (King 2005b). In rural areas where employment in the formal sector is very limited, job opportunities are very important and often involve local politics and bribery for the attainment of a position. Therefore, CanDo is always very careful about employment in its project sites in order to avoid the involvement of local politics and bribery in its activities.

One of the most important policies in the employment of local staff since the beginning of CanDo's activities in Kenya is the policy not to employ government officers or teachers in the project sites, although the expectation towards employment opportunities is high even amongst these government employees and teachers due to the expectation of high salaries. The reason behind this policy not to hire government officers or teachers for the projects lies in the notion that these people, especially those who are enthusiastic about community development, are important human resources for the community. The extraction of these human resources from the community would lead to undermining the "social capability" of the community to solve local problems through their own efforts.

Nagaoka expressed his criticism of what he saw in the international NGO's employment at his visits to international NGOs in Ethiopia for a study on "the international cooperation in education in the school management through Community Participation",<sup>152</sup> which was conducted by the Japan NGO Network for Education (JNNE) in 2004.

In Save the Children USA's projects in Ethiopia, many local staff are former government officers. They prefer working for international NGOs to working for the local government because wages are normally far much higher in big NGOs than in the local government. There is some degree of antagonism against Save the Children USA amongst government officers due to the extraction of their colleagues, but, at the same time, these officers, who remained in the government, have high expectation towards the NGO to provide them with another opportunity for employment. I don't think it's good. Of course, for NGOs, it would be convenient to hire capable officers who know the situation very well, but such employment will undermine the capacity of the local government. (Nagaoka from informal conversation on 15<sup>th</sup> January 2005)

Keeping this important employment policy, the qualification required and the salary level are strategies that CanDo undertakes so as to curtail the expectation of employment amongst government officers. Firstly, the minimum qualification for

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<sup>152</sup> The research was conducted in Ethiopia and Cambodia by JNNE members under the Cooperation Base System project of International Cooperation in Education funded by the Ministry of Education, Sports, Culture, Science, and Technology (MEXT). The research teams visited the projects conducted by Save the Children USA, World Learning Ethiopia, Kampuchean Action for Primary Education, and CARE Cambodia. Nagaoka was a member of the Ethiopia research team and visited Ethiopia in October 2004. (JNNE 2005)

the position is C+ score in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE), which CanDo thinks would assure the competency in the use of the English language. CanDo does not feel it is a disadvantage to hire people without higher academic qualifications as long as they are honest and have enthusiasm for working for the community. “If he or she is not competent enough in conducting his or her duties at the beginning, he or she will learn from the experience of working with us”, said Nagaoka in hiring a field assistant in Nuu on 24th January 2004.

Secondly, the wage for the position of field assistants is a little lower than that of government officers and teachers, but much higher than the wages for those people without a higher academic background. As the conditions of the employment were clearly mentioned in the advertisement, no government officers or teachers have actually applied for the position so far. When the expected salaries and the government pension scheme are taken into the calculation, the position of CanDo is not very attractive for these government officers or teachers. In this sense, the strategy of CanDo to avoid hampering the local human resources seems to be working.

In addition, CanDo is very careful about the procedure for employing these field assistants in the community. For CanDo, the involvement of local politics and bribery in conducting its development activities would be fatal, and it is critically important to avoid any possible opportunities for the involvement of local politics and bribery in the recruiting procedures. If the field assistants, who are mediators between CanDo and the community, should be deeply involved with local politics, the existence of these field assistants itself could easily lead to confrontation in the community, and the activities of CanDo would face difficulty from the beginning. Correspondingly, if the field assistants should be those who are accustomed to using the bribery with local leaders, the projects would be put at risk of corruption. Therefore, in order to avoid such difficulties, it is extremely important for CanDo to be careful about recruiting field assistants from the local community.

In order to avoid problems caused by the employment of field assistants, CanDo puts great efforts into making the procedure for the employment of these field assistants accountable to the communities. Firstly, consensus regarding the

employment and its procedure is reached with the local leaders (District Officer (DO), Chiefs, and local Councillors). Secondly, advertisement and application for the employment are made through the DO. Notice of the position is placed on the notice board of the DO's office and application forms are to be handed to DO during a certain period. After the application forms are collected, short-listing for interviews is made in consultation with the local leaders (chiefs or assistant chiefs and DO). Chiefs give some information on the applicants and tend to push the applicants from their sub-divisions. Therefore, the decision has been made not to limit the number of candidates for the interviews at the short-listing stage. The interviews are conducted with some CanDo staff, DO, Chiefs and other available administrative officers to select three candidates for the employment, amongst whom CanDo will make the final selection for its field assistant. This procedure seems quite effective in screening nepotism and avoiding bribery because the local leaders, at least, could make an excuse that they did their best for the applicants they knew to be appointed for the position.<sup>153</sup> Thus, clearing a space free from corruption and local politics requires a delicate strategy.

## 7.6. Financial Status and Donors

### 7.6.1. The Financial Status of CanDo

The financial scale of CanDo is very small when looked at on the international scale, but could be considered as medium-sized amongst Japanese NGOs engaged in international cooperation according to the analysis made in Chapter 6. CanDo's income in 2004 was JPY32.0 million (about US\$267,000). The breakdown of the income in 2004 was: membership and donations (16%); grants from private donors (16.4%); grants from the Japanese government (10.9%); and contract income from the Japanese government (55.6%).

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<sup>153</sup> In the three years during which the author has had contact with CanDo, three field assistants were employed through this procedure and this was successful in avoiding the applicants who were identified as using bribery and their connections to local leaders.

Thus, the financing of the organisation is heavily dependent on sources in the Japanese government. This dependency on the Japanese government is a critical problem for CanDo to sustain its development activities, and the members of CanDo have made various efforts to increase financing from sources other than the Japanese government. The difficulty in obtaining private donations is the most serious issue shared by the Japanese NGO society as discussed in Chapter 6. The problem of heavy dependency on the governmental sources of funding is shared in the international arena as well, and it is not an easy task for CanDo to solve the problem on its own.

#### 7.6.2. Donors

There are not many Japanese organisations and institutions which willingly give financial support to NGO activities on a large scale, and financial sources are very limited for Japanese NGOs. The situation of CanDo is exactly the same as that of other Japanese NGOs as far as funding is concerned. CanDo's donors include foundations established by private companies and religious organisations in addition to the governmental organisations. Amongst them, the main donors in 2005 were the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Foundation for International Development/Relief (FIDR), the Global Citizenship Fund (GCF), and the Japan International Cooperation Systems (JICS).

Since 1998 CanDo's activities have been financially supported through grants and contracts income from, in total, thirteen donors, but the situation has become increasingly difficult as some large private foundations have made critical decisions to withdraw their public funding schemes from NGOs. Rissho Kosei-kai Peace Fund,<sup>154</sup> for example, whose funding to NGOs was one of CanDo's largest financial sources for 6 years from the establishment of CanDo's projects, made a

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<sup>154</sup> Rissho Kosei-kai Peace Fund is run by Rissho Kosei-kai, a Buddhist organisation, and has conducted "*The Donate a Meal Campaign*" since 1974 to raise money from its members for financial support to UN related organisations and NGOs which are engaged in activities contributing to world peace.

decision to stop its public funding scheme to various NGOs in 2004 and to donate all the money raised from its members in “*The Donate a Meal Campaign*” to Japan UNICEF and its affiliated NGO since 2004 (Rissho Kosei-kai 2006). FIDR also made a decision in 2006 to cease its public funding scheme and to concentrate on its own development projects in Asia and Africa (Nagaoka from informal interview on 14 January 2006). The reasons of such withdrawal from funding activities by private organisations are not immediately transparent, but arguably we can not deny the influence of the trend in international development in which assistance to countries in the South is heading more towards budgetary support than to projects by individual organisations.

In this budgetary support, the main focus is placed on the programmes coordinated by the recipient government and project type assistance is often regarded as an obstacle into programme coordination because such projects are planned between each donor and recipients without paying much attention to the comprehensive programmes in the recipient countries. For a small number of large scale International NGOs which have access to dialogue with donor agencies, involvement in programmes given such budgetary support could be made possible through their advocacy, prominence, and demonstration of their capability, but for the majority of NGOs, the trend towards this type of budgetary support seems to have a negative impact on their public funding sources.

### 7.6.3. Critical Choices for the Future?

Given these circumstances in Japan, many of the large Japanese NGOs are forming strategies to increase their financial resources through commercial advertisements in the mass media and for-profit activities as discussed in the previous chapter. Hitherto, CanDo has not been engaged in any such commercial activities to achieve financial stability. Nagaoka disagrees with Child-Sponsorship-type campaigns in the mass media undertaken by other large organisations and with the involvement in commercial activities. Therefore, CanDo does not have any intention to pursue such strategies to ensure its financial stability.

Figure 9. The Location of Mwingi



Source: modified by the author from the map of Kenya



The decision not to be engaged in commercial activities has been made because these commercial activities require a large amount of investment, which Nagaoka considers too heavy for a small organisation such as CanDo to yield good results. The strategy CanDo has followed to date is to maintain the scale of its activities within its financial means and to persist with grassroots campaigns to acquire support to their activities through holding its own debriefing sessions and presentations at other seminars and conferences. The board of trustees and members of CanDo have, however, recognised the necessity to explore further ways to financially sustain its activities.

Without solving the problems of independent financial resources, CanDo might face large difficulties in sustaining its activities when the Japanese government changes their attitude towards NGOs. History tells us that governments have been very capricious in their official development assistance as discussed in Chapter 3 and 6.

## 7.7. Project Sites: Mwingi District, Eastern Province, Kenya

### 7.7.1. Mwingi District

Mwingi is a new district in Eastern Province with a population of 304,000 (Kenya 2001), which was carved out of Kitui District in 1993. Mwingi District forms one of the 10 districts in Eastern Province and has an area of 10,030.3 square kilometres, consisting of nine divisions, namely Mwingi Central, Migwani, Mumoni, Mui, Nguni, Nu, Kyuso, Ngomeni, and Tseikuru. The district is mainly inhabited by Kikamba speaking people. The average population density is 30 people per square kilometre, ranging from 101 in the highest parts of the district (Migwani and parts of Mumoni) to 7 in the lowest parts (parts of Kyuso and Nguni Divisions) (Kenya 2002).

Mwingi District is situated in the ASAL (arid and semi-arid land) classification. The rains are unpredictable and unreliable all the year round. The district is characterised by periodic crop failure. The district shows a very high prevalence of poverty. As a result, the people in the district have difficulty accessing

such basic needs as food, shelter, clothing, education, and health, which leads to low levels of literacy, a low economic base backed by low purchasing power, lack of access to credit facilities, low level of utilisation of local resources, and high unemployment.

According to the District Development report in 2002, the poverty of Mwingi District is at a critical level. Mwingi District had 65.5 % of the people and 58.8 % of the households falling below the food poverty line where the amount of expenditure of households or individuals buys enough food to meet the recommended energy allowance. The absolute poverty line is the minimum amount of money necessary to afford the basic minimum food and non-food requirements. Mwingi District has as high proportion as 60% of the individuals in absolute poverty and 66.5% of the households in the district fall below the food poverty line. Furthermore, more severely, more than half of the population live in a hardcore poverty and could not meet the minimum food calorie requirements even if they concentrated all of their expenditure on food (Kenya 2002). The report, Geographic Dimension of Well-being in Kenya, in 2005 ranked the rural poverty level of the Mwingi North Constituency as 148th and the Mwingi South Constituency as 151st out of 210 constituencies in Kenya, concluding that 62% of the population in Mwingi North, and 63% in Mwingi South live below the poverty line determined in the report.<sup>155</sup>

As is often the case in the ASAL, water is one of the most serious problems in the district. There is no permanent river in the district, and only 11.3% of the total households have access to piped water.<sup>156</sup> People mainly rely on water from portable water points, wells, boreholes, dams, and earth dams. The average distance to the nearest water point is 10 km in the dry season and 3 km in the rainy season (Kenya

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<sup>155</sup> The poverty line in the report is determined and based on the expenditure needed to purchase the food necessary to meet minimum nutritional requirements in addition to the costs of meeting basic non-food needs. This poverty line is estimated to be about KSh.1, 239 and KSh.2, 648 per month for rural and urban households respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics 2005).

<sup>156</sup> This is calculated by the author with the data from the district development report 2002. The total number of households is 60,099, out of which 6,786 have access to piped water (Kenya 2002)

2002). Fetching water is time-consuming and one of the arduous duties for women and girls. In addition to fetching water, collecting firewood is also an important duty. The households with access to electricity make up only 0.5% of total households, and 95.7% rely on firewood and charcoal for energy (Kenya 2002). However, access to electricity is limited to Mwingi Town, and most people cannot afford to buy charcoal due to the poverty of the district.

*The 1999 Population and Housing Census* indicates that the infant mortality rate is 84.1 deaths per 1000 live births and the mortality rate for the under fives increases to 127 per 1,000 live births, both of which are higher than national rates, 77.3 and 116 respectively (Kenya 2001), due to the hardship of life and the poor access to health services such as hospitals, health centres, and dispensaries. There is only one hospital, eight health centres, and 28 dispensaries in the district, and the doctor/patient ratio is 1:50,071 (Kenya 2002). Amongst these health facilities, the hospital in Mwingi Town is the single place for the residents in the district to meet doctors, and in other places people are taken care of by Clinical Officers, Public Health Officers (PHOs), Public Health Technicians (PHTs) and nurses. The average distance to the nearest health centres is 30 km. (Kenya 2002). Therefore, local people have constant difficulty in access to medical treatment even in health centres or dispensaries.

Parental interest in education is high in Kenya, and so are the primary school enrolment rates, compared with other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2000, before the introduction of Free Primary Education, the net enrolment rate for primary education in Mwingi was 64.7.% for boys and 70.5% for girls, and in 2003 when FPE came into force, the rate rose up to 90.8% and 91.1% respectively (Ministry of Education Science and Technology 2005c). The average duration of schooling is six years for both boys and girls (Kenya 2002), whereas the length of a full primary education is 8 years.

The difficulties facing education in Mwingi District are the high drop-out rates and low completion rates by both boys and girls. The drop-out rate is 14.5% for boys and 10.9% for girls (Kenya 2002). Unlike many other parts of Kenya, more girls tend to attend and stay longer in primary schools than boys. Due to the level of

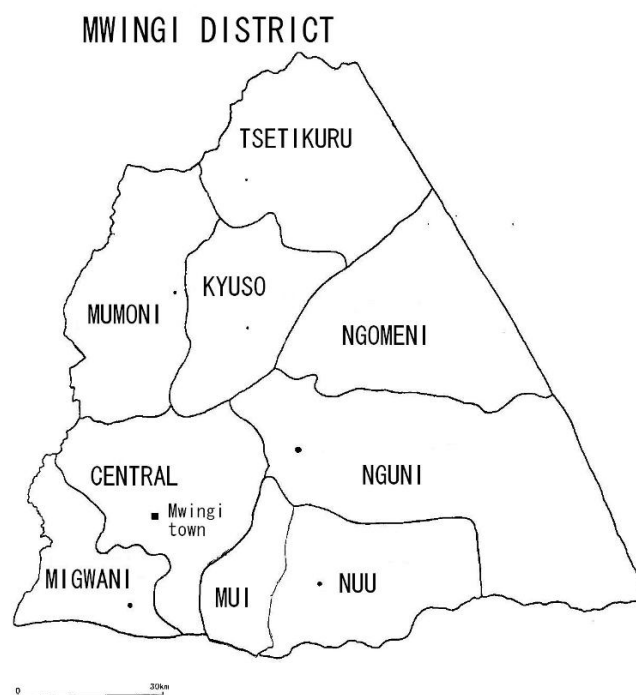
poverty, girls are often sent as housemaids to families in neighbouring villages and boys are also sent to other villages to keep cattle and do other minor jobs after finishing Standard (Std) 5 or 6. In Kalesi Primary School in Nuu Division, for example, the number of pupils in Std 8 was nine in 2003, and all of the pupils in Std 8 were girls. In other primary schools, this tendency is seen every year. This is in part because girls with a longer education are normally expected to secure a higher dowry when they get married. Polygamy is still widely conducted in the district, and it is not very unusual for teenagers to be married to rich men in their fifties or sixties as their second or third wives, expecting a better dowry and wealthier life. Therefore, the gender disparity in primary education is not an issue, but the quality of primary education is the most serious issue in Mwingi District.

There are not many international or national NGOs working in Mwingi District. Compared to neighbouring Kitui, Embu, and Machakos, Mwingi is poorly supported by NGOs. ActionAid, the Catholic Diocese of Kitui, the Anglican Church, and the New Apostolic Church have been operating community development projects in some parts of the district, but the scale of their activities is not significant. The main programmes conducted by external agencies have been “Food for Work” by GTZ and several projects by the World Bank, and the School Feeding Programme by the World Food Programme (WFP).

#### 7.7.2. Nu, Mui and Nguni

CanDo started its operation in two divisions in Mwingi District, Nu and Mui, in 1998 and expanded the operation to another division in the same district; Nguni, in 2005. These three divisions are located adjacent to each other and have similar situations. The populations of Nu, Mui, and Nguni are 20,963, 15,305, and 20,033 respectively (Kenya 2001). Most of the soils in the divisions are of low fertility. The population’s livelihood relies on agriculture, grazing, and bee-keeping, and sources of income are very limited. Nairobi and Mombasa to seek jobs, and women are the main supporters of the livelihood of the community.

**Figure 10. The Map of Mwingi District**



Sources: made by CanDo

**Table 5. Demographic Information on Nguni, Nuu, and Mui**

| Division | Population | Area<br>(km <sup>2</sup> ) | Density<br>(/ km <sup>2</sup> ) | Primary Schools |        |          |           | Nursaries |
|----------|------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|
|          |            |                            |                                 | number          | pupils | teachers | t/p ratio | number    |
| Nguni    | 20,415     | 1,751.00                   | 11.66                           | 23              | 7,873  | 161      | 48.9      | 35        |
| Nuu      | 21,148     | 1,324.40                   | 15.97                           | 28              | 7,396  | 176      | 42.0      | 37        |
| Mui      | 15,413     | 369.8                      | 41.69                           | 23              | 5,638  | 163      | 34.6      | 30        |

\* sources: 1999 Census and Mwingi District Education Office

Unlike Mwingi town, none of these three divisions have running water, or electricity. Mui, Nuu, and most parts of Nguni are isolated from transportation and information. Mui and Nuu especially are located far from the main road leading to Mwingi Town, and people have difficulty in access to major facilities due to the high cost and infrequency of transportation services to the district centre. Even access to information is very limited due to lack of mobile phone networks<sup>157</sup> and newspapers. Radio is the only source of information for those people who can afford it.

In choosing the project sites for its operations, CanDo paid particular attention to places with community's enthusiasm for education and where there was poor quality of education. CanDo assumed that problems caused by poverty prevented the community's enthusiasm from leading to quality education. In order to support the community's efforts to improve the quality of education, CanDo decided to have its first operation in Nuu Division of Mwingi District, which suffered from poor quality of education at that time.<sup>158</sup> The government officers in Mwingi District also recognised that the learning environment in Nuu and Mui had been of the poorest quality in the district due to poverty and poor support from external agencies.

#### 7.7.3. Other NGOs in the Divisions

In Nuu and Mui, there were withdrawals by some agencies (GTZ, USAID, World Vision, and German Agro Action) in the late 1990s. Some of these agencies conducted food for work programmes, but according to the former field assistant of CanDo in Nuu, such factors as a failure to obtain targeted goals rather than the mere provision of food, and misguidance by the local administration might have resulted in their withdrawal. In Mui Division, World Vision finished their projects in the late 1990s after working for more than 20 years in the division. Although the communities of these two divisions have experienced projects by NGOs and

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<sup>157</sup> In 2006, mobile phone network became available in some parts of Nuu and Mui.

<sup>158</sup> The quality of education was judged by academic achievement at the divisional level and the learning environment of primary schools through school visits by the staff of CanDo. (Nagaoka: The interview on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2003)

development agencies in the past, there are not many organisations working in these two divisions today.

#### 7.7.4. Education and Problems in the Divisions

**Table 6. The Teacher-Pupil Ratio in Nuu and Mui**

| Division<br>no. of<br>schools | year | Primary Schools |          |           |                     |
|-------------------------------|------|-----------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|
|                               |      | pupils          | teachers | t/p ratio | teachers<br>/school |
| Nuu<br>28                     | 1998 | 4,402           | 162      | 27.2      | 5.8                 |
|                               | 2001 | 4,815           | 165      | 29.2      | 5.9                 |
|                               | 2004 | 7,396           | 176      | 42.0      | 6.3                 |
| Mui<br>23                     | 1998 | 4,159           | 147      | 28.3      | 6.4                 |
|                               | 2001 | 4,044           | 142      | 28.5      | 6.2                 |
|                               | 2004 | 5,638           | 163      | 34.6      | 7.1                 |

sources: Mwingi District Education Office

The learning environment is poor in many disadvantaged rural areas in Kenya. In 1998, when CanDo started its operation, the main difficulties in primary education that CanDo found in the divisions were poor quality of learning conditions which included facilities, teaching and learning materials, understaffing and teachers' morale. Before FPE was launched in 2003, government support was limited to the deployment of teachers and their salaries. Other than that, the financing of primary education was supported by parents' contributions. Almost all the responsibility for maintaining the quality of education was placed on the shoulders of parents, which included the construction of classrooms, teachers' housing, expenses for school activities as well as for Area Education Offices, additional teachers' salaries, and the provision of water and firewood for cooking school meals. In addition, parents had to prepare school uniforms and textbooks for their children. As a result, in marginalised areas where most of the parents could not afford to pay for this burden, the physical and material quality of education could not be expected to be good. Mui and Nuu were examples of these areas.

There were many primary schools which had insufficient classrooms for pupils. Most classrooms were of low quality, and many of them were temporary ones which were made with wattle and mud. More than a few children even had classes outside in the shade of the trees. When CanDo started its projects in 1998, there was only one textbook in the class, which was the teacher's, and the main pedagogical method consisted of writing the contents of the textbook on the blackboard so as to explain the contents. Children who did not have notebooks or pens looked at their teachers' writing on the blackboard, and because of the time taken writing on the blackboard, the class finished before the teacher explained what he or she had written on the blackboard. Some teachers complained about the uselessness of this pedagogy they used, but they said there was no other way to teach without textbooks.<sup>159</sup> This is the way in which most teachers themselves were taught when they were children and the problem is that many teachers use this pedagogy even when they have textbooks. They are in need opportunities for training to change their classes.

The shortage of teachers was and still is a serious problem in the divisions in question. From the statistics, the teacher and pupil ratios in the divisions are not particularly bad when compared to the national ratio. As table 6 shows, for example, the teacher/pupil ratio is 1: 29.2 in Nuu and 1:28.5 in Mui in 2001. These are little better than the national ratio of 1:32 in 2001 (UNESCO 2005) if a lower ratio is considered to represent a better situation in schools. However, it is clear that the ratio does not mean a better situation in Nuu and Mui when we look at the average number of teachers in a primary school in these divisions. Although most of the primary schools have eight streams, the average number of teachers was 5.9 in Nuu and 6.2 in Mui in 2001, ranging from 2 to 12 teachers, which means there were always a few classes which did not have teachers to teach in every teaching hour in many schools.

This often happens due to the small size of classes in isolated and sparsely populated areas in many parts of Kenya. In the case of Mui and Nuu, for example,

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<sup>159</sup> From interviews with teachers in Imwamba Primary School, Nuu Division, on 7<sup>th</sup> September 2003.



the size of classes varies from 4 to 85 pupils in one class in 2001. In such cases, Little argues that multigrade teaching<sup>160</sup> takes place out of the necessity in many disadvantaged rural areas both in Asia and Africa. Little points out several reasons which necessitate multigrade teaching, one of which includes the inadequate deployment of teachers; low teacher supply, teachers on medical or casual leaves, and absenteeism (Little 2001). Although multigrade teaching is quite common in rural Japan as well as other parts of the world both in the North and the South, as Little argues, neither CanDo nor the author have not identified multigrade teaching of Mwingi to solve the problems of understaffing in any primary schools in the divisions.

A range of reasons could be suggested for the absence of multigrade teaching in the divisions. Firstly, effective multigrade teaching requires a certain degree of training and material development. Without such support from outside, multigrade teaching depends entirely on the efforts of teachers, which requires enthusiasm for teaching. Kenya has a highly academic background oriented society. The prevalent objectives of primary education as perceived by most teachers are to send children to good secondary schools and ensure they achieve high scores in the examinations for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE). Primary Schools are evaluated through the students' scores in the KCPE and prize-giving is conducted at the sub-education area level in a division up to the national level. The results in the KCPE as well as the KCSE are an important element in employment at any level. Therefore, for teachers, pupils' good scores in the KCPE and a large number of pupils continuing to secondary education often indicate a high level of educational competency in primary teachers. Nonetheless, due to the prevalent poverty of the communities and the poor educational surroundings, pupils rarely go

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<sup>160</sup> Little explains multigrade and monograde teaching as follows:

In multigrade teaching, teachers are responsible, within a timetabled period, for instruction across two or more curriculum grades...In monograde teaching, by contrast, teachers are responsible, within a timetabled period, for instruction of a single curriculum grade. In many monograde classes, teachers teach the same content at the same time to all children; in others, teachers group children according to their levels of achievement (Little 2001:482).

on to secondary education and their scores in the KCPE are generally very poor. As a result, a kind of apathy prevails amongst the teachers who are normally posted into the divisions from other districts, and most of whom come from wealthier areas than Nuu and Mui. Teachers often complain about poor parental attitudes to education, saying “Parents do not understand the importance of education. They think education is useless for their boys and girls as they just become cattle keepers or housemaids at the age of 12 or 13”.<sup>161</sup> More a few teachers also think exactly the same way when they consider the efforts to put into their teaching in the classroom.

Secondly, education in Kenya has been supported to a large extent by parental contributions, and, as discussed in Chapter 4, problems of understaffing were solved through hiring PA teachers by *Harambee* by parents in the divisions. Parental contributions to hiring PA teachers could not have been expected in every school in the divisions, but teachers have had high expectations of such parental contributions and have quite often taken it for granted. In cases where PA teachers are not hired due to lack of parental contributions, teachers have tended to believe that this is because parents do not understand the importance of education for their children and have shifted the blame to parents rather than conducting multigrade teaching in their schools. Furthermore, the number of pupils is comparatively large and lower grades cannot accommodate multigrade teaching due to the size of the classrooms. Higher grades, in which the enrolment is generally low due to the high drop-out rate, are considered to be very important for the preparation for the KCPE, and teachers do not seem happy to practice multigrade teaching there.

Against this background, it was not unusual for some classes to be left without teachers during school hours in the schools which were suffering from understaffing. In addition, teachers’ absenteeism, sick leave, and funerals exacerbated the poor learning environment in schools further. Such a difficult teaching environment further lowers teachers’ motivation and morale in a vicious circle. For many teachers who are not local, being posted in primary schools in these

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<sup>161</sup> Teachers’ comment on parental attitudes on education in formal interviews at several primary schools in Nuu in July 2003.

divisions is seen as a punishment<sup>162</sup> and they fail to motivate themselves to fulfil even their responsibilities within their schools. As a result, it was not unusual when CanDo came to visit the divisions to find that teachers stayed in the staff room talking with their colleagues during class, leaving their pupils in the classrooms to study by themselves.<sup>163</sup>

With the low morale of teachers as one of the underlining factors, the relationship between teachers and parents was generally not good and still is not good in some schools. Parents kept their distance from teachers because they are critical of teachers' attitudes towards teaching. Parents generally do not criticise teachers' attitudes openly in public, but do criticise amongst themselves in their communities. Some parents have more power<sup>164</sup> than primary school teachers even in rural areas, and these parents openly criticise teachers' incompetence. Prior to FPE, parents were reluctant to go to school as they were afraid of requests for the payment of school levies. Teachers often accused parents of not understanding the value of education and not cooperating with the school. These complaints by teachers against parents are still often observed in some schools. The bad relationship between teachers and parents completed the vicious circle of de-motivating and demoralising teachers in primary schools and exacerbated the poor learning environment further.

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<sup>162</sup> From an interview with a teacher in Kalesi Primary School on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003. A teacher raised the issue of the long distance to commute to his school as an example of "punishment" for him.

When you are walking from Kaai to up this place (school), you feel tired. If you are like that, you can never be good. When you are tired, you will lose your energy. That means you are trying to rest. When you go to class, you have to hurry up because of the distance. It is about six kilometres for you to walk. And if you walk that distance daily, that would be a problem. You need to walk twelve. Thinking that distance, you have to be staying around because it is so tiresome. (A male teacher in Kalesi Primary School on 4<sup>th</sup> July, 2003)

<sup>163</sup> This was often witnessed by CanDo staff during their operations. (From a field note on 2<sup>nd</sup> August in 2004)

<sup>164</sup> There are some cases in which retired headteachers of secondary school and chiefs are amongst parents of primary schools. Successful businessmen whose income is higher than primary school teachers are respected in the community and tend to have more power than teachers.

## 7.8. Conclusion

CanDo is at first glance a typical Japanese NGO which shares the same agenda in areas such as education and health, and the same type of difficulties in its operation, with other Japanese NGOs; it is a small NGO which is engaged in education, health and, the environment with difficulties maintaining its independent financial resources. At the same time, CanDo is a very distinctive NGO in Japan due to its strong philosophy of social development and having its mode of operation according to this philosophy. Their approach to international cooperation and social development might share more with the Western approach to the local community in development aid than with that of Japan's ODA. However, the ideology of CanDo has deep roots in Japanese or Eastern perspectives on society which are different to those of Western individualism. It derives its value of harmonisation and cooperation within the community or the group of people from Japanese or Asian culture.

CanDo's actions in Mwingi might be bringing different values into African society. However, intervention by different cultures can hardly avoid bringing different values into the community, and such intervention cannot always be judged as bad. The important consideration is how such intervention from the outside can help local people to improve their livelihoods and how this intervention works. The next chapter will look at what CanDo does with the local community and the way it works in Mwingi so as to explore the significance of outsiders in international development and their role as well as to identify the role of small NGOs in the community through the work of CanDo.

## **Chapter 8. Efforts for Supporting Self-help**

The Japanese challenge is to demonstrate the validity of self-help efforts and the possibility of self-reliant development in Africa, where countries are very weak in terms of both human and financial resources. Can Japan facilitate the self-help efforts of African countries and encourage their ownership? (Sawamura 2004:38)

### **8.1. Introduction**

In international official development aid, not only the Japanese government but several other donor agencies emphasise on the importance of self-reliance by the recipient countries. Their emphasis on self-reliance is related to issues of autonomy and ownership in international development aid, the focus of which is to place the recipient governments in the driver's seat in their development programmes, as well as on the sustainability of these programmes. The responsibilities of recipient governments to drive and sustain their own development have been emphasised in donor modalities and discourse since the mid-1990s. However, as King points out, the process of development planning such as that of the International Development Targets (IDTs) of DAC has still been dominated by the donors' rhetoric of ownership and autonomy (King 2004). In the case of the Japanese government, as discussed in Chapter 5, Japan also has a philosophy which accords special value to self-help, but its ODA modality is more to do with its political and domestic strategies than its philosophy. The examples of official donor agencies show the difficulties in respecting self-help, ownership, and autonomy in development programmes with assistance from outside.

For CanDo, the most crucial element of its philosophy also lies in respecting local self-help efforts. CanDo has put great emphasis in its operations on not hampering the efforts of local people to help themselves, as well as on supporting their efforts since the beginning of operation in Kenya in 1998. The previous chapter discussed the ideology of CanDo which explained its emphasis on local efforts in

development activities as well as the situation concerning its project sites in Mwingi. This chapter will explore how CanDo propels its philosophy into action and the interaction that CanDo has with the local community in their projects in Mwingi. In doing so, this chapter will discuss the roles of CanDo and the community in development projects.

## 8.2. Project Implementation in Kenya

### 8.2.1. The Main Fields of CanDo's Assistance and their Backgrounds

CanDo has been working in the field of education, health and education through early childhood development (ECD), primary education, and nonformal education for mothers, but does not directly deal with the main curricular areas or promote access to education through its projects. Rather, CanDo deals with these issues indirectly to reach the goals of its projects. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ultimate goal of CanDo's projects is to realise community-defined quality society, and CanDo expects people in the community to identify problems in their community and to find ways to solve those problems through the consensus of the people in the community by their involvement in CanDo's projects. In order to reach the ultimate goal, CanDo prepares three main pillars in its operation in Kenya; Primary Education Support, Environmental Conservation, and Health Care Support. These pillars encompass projects in the fields of ECD, primary education, and nonformal education so that the combination of the programmes in these fields can generate synergies for the improvement of education, health, members of the community, and community development. Let us have a brief look at the overview of the programme and its background before discussing the details of CanDo's projects.

#### *Primary Education Support*

CanDo's primary education support started in 1998 in Nuu Division and later in Mui and Nguni Divisions with funding from various donors to help improve educational standards in the divisions through providing existing primary schools with comprehensive support in terms of physical facilities as well as in-service

teacher training. Unlike the programmes concerning community schools, in which NGOs support local communities to create or recreate schools for the needs of communities (Molteno *et al.* 2000), the focus of CanDo's projects is on supporting existing primary schools to revitalise primary education with the cooperation of parents and local education officers. The revitalisation of formal primary education is considered to be achieved through the improvement of educational circumstances in terms of hardware and software through the participation of parents in education.

Starting with the provision of textbooks<sup>165</sup> and classroom construction, the current components of primary education support comprise five projects; Facility Improvement (classroom construction and renovation), School-based Environmental Activities, School Health Projects (HIV/AIDS), Early Childhood Development Projects, and School-based AIDS Awareness Workshops for Teachers and Parents. These projects are conducted with the parents and teachers of the primary schools in the divisions. As one can understand from the nature of the projects given by their titles, these projects are not directly connected with the main curricular issues in primary education and ECD.

### *Environmental Conservation*

In Nuu as in other ASALs in Mwingi, the deterioration of members of the community has become serious due to slash-and-burn farming, over-pasturage, and the increased population of the division. In such conditions, environmental conservation has been one of the main themes of CanDo's social development activities, but unlike many other organisations engaged in environmental conservation, CanDo has taken an indirect approach. Instead of taking on direct conservation projects such as afforestation projects, CanDo has taken the approach of launch of environmental activities and education in primary schools as its Environmental Conservation Programme. Nagaoka explains the starting point of CanDo's projects concerning environmental conservation as follows;

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<sup>165</sup> The project for textbook provision was finished in 1999.

Although administrative officers in charge of this area (environmental conservation) have been promoting the decrease of slash-and-burn farming in the mountains, the use of improved kitchen range to decrease the consumption of firewood, the appointment of reserves for the recovery of vegetation, and the horizontal ditch casting for soil conservation from a viewpoint of water source protection, the majority of the members of the community have not actively responded to the promotion by the administrative officers. When we ask residents and schoolteachers who are considered as intellectuals in the villages, they answer, “There is no problem in members of the community as Nuu is abundant in trees”. ... Currently, most farmers are able to obtain firewood at home or around their farmland without going far for collecting firewood or purchasing. Environmental issues do not seem to be recognised directly from the sense of their livelihood. ... Thus, there is a big disparity in the recognition of environmental problems between the administrative officers and the local residents. The starting point of CanDo might be to fill this gap between the two (Nagaoka 1998:2)

Another aspect of the background to this indirect approach to environmental conservation is the criticism of former conservation projects by other organisations which took the Food-for-Work approach to the implementation of the projects. At the time of the launch of their activities, CanDo was asked by the regional agriculture office in Nuu to be engaged in afforestation projects currently in hiatus in the division and explored the possibility of taking over the project. However, in conducting the feasibility study for an afforestation project, CanDo identified that there were afforestation projects which had ended in failure in the past. An NGO initiated projects by providing participants in the projects with food, but the projects were abandoned when the NGO stopped the food provision. CanDo concluded that the failure of these conservation projects lay in lack of planning with a long range perspective and the use of the wrong approach. These conservation projects were started without a long term perspective on environmental conservation or planning for public interest in the projects by the community, and, as a result, the members of the community participated in the projects merely because of the expectation of food and without any recognition of the importance of the conservation projects to the community the long term perspective.

CanDo concluded that it would be difficult for CanDo to take over the abandoned afforestation projects without food provision, which CanDo concluded had hampered the ownership and sustainability of the projects, and that a different approach to environmental conservation to the Food-for-Work approach would be



necessary. CanDo considered that sustainable environmental conservation would require a project through which the community could gain public interest and a long range perspective on conservation. Taking the results of its feasibility study, CanDo made the decision to start projects for environmental conservation in primary schools where the community participates in educating children with a long-term perspective. With this decision, practical environmental activities and education have begun in primary schools, in which practical environmental activities are promoted through the integration of science and environmental conservation.

### *Primary Health Care Support*

Along with primary education support, primary health care support was firstly launched in Mui Division in 1998. The projects have the vision of helping to develop a primary health care system through cooperation between local residents and administrative/health officers in partnership with CanDo in communities which have very limited access to medical facilities.<sup>166</sup> The projects started with assistance to a self-help group to expand the Mui Dispensary in 1998 and primary health care training in 2000.

CanDo has been constructing good relationships with members of the community and administrators through conducting a feasibility study for health care activities in Mui with a Kenyan medical consultant since August 1998. ... Vaccination and maternal health service are provided by a mobile clinic coming from neighbouring Kitui Division. The service is conducted by a Christian church and there is a rumour around that the service will be finished. Considering the distance to a hospital, Mui lags behind in the medical services amongst others in Nuu Division.<sup>167</sup> However, there is no planning for the new establishment or expansion of medical facilities in the District, and the local residents of Mui have organised a self-help group to expand Mui Dispensary for a vaccination centre, but difficulties in obtaining funding have brought a standstill to their activities. With the result of a feasibility study, we applied for the funding to support the self-help group. (Newsletter February 1999 No.1) (CanDo 2004)

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<sup>166</sup> According to a CanDo's newsletter, there was only one dispensary with a single nurse in the Mui sub-location in which about 10,000 people lived at the time of census in 1988. There were more than 70 patients visiting the dispensary per day, and medical treatment was only available for diarrhoea, malaria, and TB. Medical services such as vaccination and maternity health were delivered by a Catholic mobile clinic coming from neighbouring Kitui District (CanDo 2004)

<sup>167</sup> Mui was part of Nuu Division until it was carved out as a division 1999.

This assistance began by financing the self-help group activities to create a plan for the provision of medical facilities and cooperation in the deployment of medical staff from the District, so that the dispensary expanded by the self-help group could function as the centre for health care in the community. However, the self-help activities faced obstacles due to the involvement of local politics<sup>168</sup> and had difficulties in functioning as the centre for autonomous health activities in the community. In responding to the difficulties at the dispensary, CanDo launched basic health care training for mothers in 2000 so that these trained mothers can organise a centre for health activities in the community separated from local politics.

The concept of basic health care training for mothers has been the establishment of a primary health care system in the community. CanDo believes that the conceptual centre of primary health care lies in the empowerment of members of the community, which is translated by CanDo as the enhancement of the “social capability” of members of the community to transform themselves from beneficiaries of the health service to benefactors of their own health. This transformation is considered to be achieved through the active participation of local residents in a primary health care system at the community level and basic health care and nutritional improvement at the household level. Under the principal concept of primary health care, the current focus of the programme is placed on primary health care training for mothers and traditional birth attendants to obtain basic knowledge and skills of primary health care and to organise their own health care activities through nonformal education.

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<sup>168</sup> One of the greatest issues amongst the self-help group was the appointment of a chairperson for the centre. With the internal politics surrounding the appointment of a chairperson, this caused difficulties in its function in the community as well. CanDo has made a decision not to intervene in local politics to consolidate the situation because it is an issue for local residents.

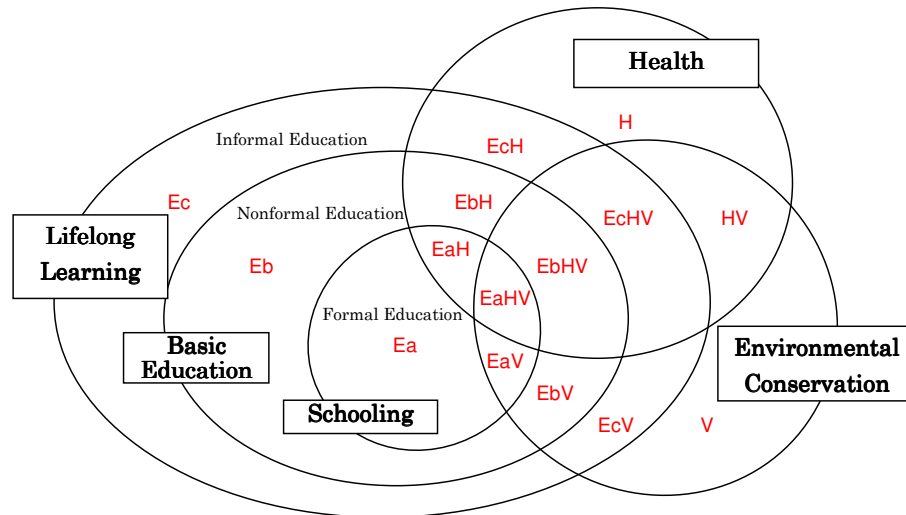
### 8.2.2. The Characteristics of CanDo's Projects in Mwingi

CanDo has been engaged in social development in Mwingi with a view to improve the situation of the communities through taking a comprehensive approach to the fields of education, health, and members of the community which CanDo considers the basis of the livelihood of the community. As in the pre-school education programme of PPC in Chile, where training parents to teach their children literacy at home actually functioned as literacy training for parents and created a place to talk about their problems in life in order to find a solution by themselves (Richards 1985), CanDo's programmes have been organised to have synergetic effects providing opportunities for members of the community to recognise their problems and to find a way to solve their problems with community consensus and through the interaction amongst the programmes. In order to make the projects sustainable and function well, CanDo's projects have three distinctive characteristics: the integration of health, the environment, and education; the idea of "the school community"; the best use of local systems and facilities, and local context oriented planning. Before an explanation of the details of each project, this section will discuss these three characteristics of CanDo's projects in Mwingi.

#### *The Integration of Health, the Environment, and Education*

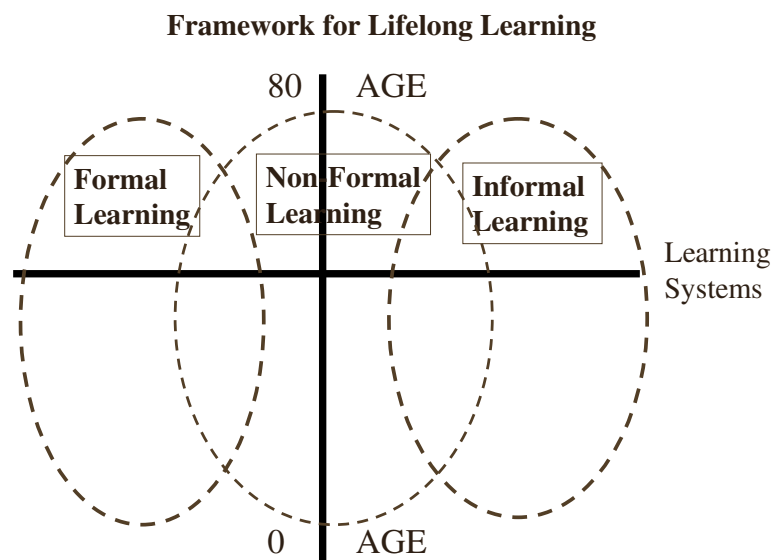
One of the characteristics of CanDo's projects is the integration of education, health, and the environment. Currently, CanDo is implementing projects supported by three main pillars: Primary Education Support, Environmental Conservation, and Primary Health Care Support, all the projects supported by these pillars are not implemented separately but are conducted through the integration of health and the environment into the framework of education so that the projects have synergetic effects in all of these fields. Given its comprehensive approach through the integration of these three fields, CanDo summarises its projects by using a concept diagram of the projects. The concept of CanDo's projects concerning the integration of the three fields is explained in Figure 11. Firstly, education is stratified into three levels: Lifelong Learning which includes formal, nonformal, and informal education; Basic

**Figure 11. The Concept Diagram of CanDo's projects**



Sources: created by Nagaoka during an interview on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2006

**Figure 12. The Concept Diagram of the World Bank**



Sources: Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy (World Bank 2005a)

Education which includes both formal and nonformal education; and Schooling which includes formal education in primary schools and ECD centres.

In this stratification of education, formal education is limited to teaching and learning in primary schools and ECD centres in formal schooling due to the situation in the target area in which most people complete their formal education at the primary level of primary. Nonformal education means educational activities organised by the government and other organisations outside of formal schooling, and informal education means informal teaching and learning at home and in the community. CanDo's projects are conducted through the integration of health and environmental conservation into this stratification of education.

Classroom construction through the Facility Improvement Project, for example, occurs only in formal education (Ea), whereas Practical Environmental Activities and Education occur in both formal education and environmental conservation (EaV), one of these activities in which children growing seedlings at home forms part of informal education work and environmental conservation (EcV). Furthermore, the environmental activities which take place through formal education are expected to have an impact on the understanding of environmental conservation in the community which could be passed from children to adults, leading to the realisation of environmental conservation (V).<sup>169</sup>

Primary Health Care Training for mothers is conducted through nonformal education on health (EbH) and encourages trainees to put the knowledge and skills obtained through the training into practice at home and to convey their knowledge and skills to other members of the community; this comes under the banner of informal education on health (EcH). The training also forms group activities by the trainees such as digging latrines contributing to health (H), and develops health and conservation activities such as terrace formation and tree planting in their fields (HV). These group activities by the trainees could contribute to environmental conservation (V) in their communities.

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<sup>169</sup> Nagaoka concludes that the impact is not yet identified in the community. (from an interview on 4<sup>th</sup> May, 2006)

School Health Projects conduct teacher training for AIDS education in primary school (EaH) leading to Child Presentation Day on HIV/AIDS in which children to convey the knowledge and information on HIV/AIDS learnt at school to people in the communities (EbH) with the expectation that this would have an impact on perceptions of HIV/AIDS in the community (EcH). Furthermore, school-based AIDS awareness workshops are held for teachers and members of the community (EbH), in which one of the main agendas is discussion on how to teach about HIV/AIDS at home and in the community (EcH).

The concept of CanDo's projects in the framework of education can be paralleled with the World Bank's idea of education in the framework shown in Figure 12 (World Bank 2005a). The greatest difference between the World Bank and CanDo lies in their objectives and viewpoints of their development projects in education. For the World Bank, the purpose of the lifelong learning system is to encourage economic development and the emphasis is placed on the necessity of building a lifelong learning system for the upgrading of the labour force and the improvement of education and labour market linkage in the global knowledge economy (World Bank 2003a; 2005a). In the World Bank's framework of lifelong learning, formal, nonformal and informal learning are considered as independent entities and the interaction of formal education and informal education, which could take place through the involvement of adults into formal education at the community or household level, is not expected. On the other hand, for CanDo, the integration of health, the environment, and education in the framework of lifelong learning works for the improvement of the livelihood of members of the community. Formal, nonformal, and informal education do not exist independently but inclusively with the participation of parents and other adults in the community in formal schooling through the projects on health and the environment. The potential to take such a comprehensive approach to the community is a big difference in the role of NGOs and donor agencies, which leads to the strengths of NGOs the activities of which are based at the grassroots.

#### *The Idea of the School Community*

The other characteristic of CanDo's projects lies in the idea of "the school community" that primary schools are the centres of communities. The idea of "the school community" arises from three features of primary schools in the context of Kenya. Firstly, primary schools are physically located within the reach of most members of the community. Most people have access to primary schools without any expense on transport. Even the poorest people can come to primary schools when they recognise the importance of their activities. Secondly, the total fertility rate is high in Kenya as in many other African countries. Due to the high total fertility rate, members of the community have a longer relationship with primary schools as parents or guardians of pupils, which can sometimes be longer than twenty years.<sup>170</sup> As a result, when the projects focus on primary schools, this can include most members of the community as well as teachers of primary schools as the main stakeholders of the projects.

Thirdly, in many parts of African countries, the tradition of self-help efforts exists in society. In Kenya, many people strongly value *Harambee* spirit, and the self-help efforts of the community are systemised in formal education as discussed in Chapter 4. In these circumstances, CanDo believes that outside assistance for education could work in such a way as to make self-help efforts by the community lead to the improvement of the quality of primary education as well as to the life of the people in the community through the enhancement of the "social capability" of the community. When FPE started in 2003, parental contributions towards primary school were hampered by their huge expectations of the Kenyan government to provide everything for their children in primary schools. However, as time goes on, these parents are beginning to understand the reality that they cannot expect the government to fully support primary education for their children. The Kenyan government has also proclaimed that FPE does not deny the community initiatives to improve the educational environment for their children. The self-help efforts of

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<sup>170</sup> In addition, it is not unusual for some School Management Committee members to be as old as sixty years of age. In the tradition of polygamy, which is still widely practiced in many parts of the divisions, fathers of primary school pupils, especially, are often older than those we observe in many countries in the North.

parents and communities have restarted in Mui and Nuu in order to improve the educational environment for their children especially at some schools in Nuu and Mui where teachers and parents have a good relationship of cooperation and communication. In 2004, arrangements for collecting contributions from parents were made on a voluntary basis.

However, this re-introduction of parental contributions is a double edged sword, because it faces the danger of creating the same problems that happened under the first FPE policy in the 1970s. As King points out in the case of the first FPE policy (King 2006b), the re-introduction of self-help efforts by parents could lead to the same obstacles in the new FPE policy this time and to the driving of children from poorer families away from schools. What is critically important for the community is to make sure that *Harambee* is conducted within the capacity of each individual. For this purpose, cooperation within the community in which both rich and poor people can have a voice for the benefit of their children is indispensable. Currently, many communities have made some arrangement for poorer families in CanDo's projects so that they could make more contributions in terms of labour than in money.<sup>171</sup> The challenge for CanDo is to find ways to provide opportunities for members of the community to take part in good communication and interaction in the community, to induce affordable self-help efforts of the community, and to avoid both dependency and exploitation in its projects. Therefore, the main focus in the school community is put on the provision of opportunities for discussions and consensus-building without excluding the poorer layer of families in the communities which are engaged in the projects – this is part of CanDo's aim of “the enhancement of social capability” of the communities.

### *The Best Use of Local Systems and Facilities*

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<sup>171</sup> This kind of arrangement is often observed on Parents Day in the primary schools in the divisions. Parents Day is set as one day a week in each school, and on that day parents are expected to come to school to work for the school. Some parents who run business in town and find it difficult to come to school can contribute money instead of labour.



Unlike many International NGOs, CanDo does not establish new schools for children who have difficulties in accessing to schools due to the scarcity of schools within their reach. One of the recent good practices by NGOs is the creation of alternative schools such as Save the Children Schools in Mali and Ethiopia as well as in other parts of the world. Alternative schools are created with participation by the community and NGOs give training to teachers selected from the community in cooperation with local governments. In many of such alternative schools, different curricula and teaching materials are created for marginalised children who have difficulties in going to school due to the distance, the difference in language, and the necessity of doing household chores. In these alternative school programmes, children finish studying at the alternative schools one year earlier than government schools so that they can transfer into the final year of government schools to get certificates of primary education in formal schools (Molteno *et al.* 2000). The alternative school programme is one of the most innovative good practices by NGOs for marginalised children and has quickly spread in many parts of the world with much funding from donor agencies.

In the case of CanDo, however, its assistance is conducted within the existing system in Mwingi: training is provided to teachers already working in schools in cooperation with local education officers; existing school management committees are partners in classroom construction; the selection of trainees for basic household health care and TBA training takes place at ordinary village meetings, *Baraza*, at the initiative of local administrators. Furthermore, in CanDo's assistance for formal schooling, no special curriculum is created but teacher training is conducted with the use of the curriculum provided by the Kenyan government. Practical environmental activities at schools are encouraged through integration with science in the government curriculum so that pupils can have the benefits of this when sitting the KCPE as well.

The main reasons for these attitudes towards existing schools and systems are a belief in non-intervention and sustainability. CanDo works directly with the local people and strongly believes that the content of education for children should be decided by the locals; the children's parents, the community, local governments,

and the central government. Therefore, CanDo does not directly intervene in the content of education but only provides opportunities for teachers and parents to obtain knowledge and information, as well as set places for teachers and parents to have discussions on education so as to think about education they give to their children. Secondly, CanDo believes that, when new schools are once established with the help of outsiders, it is very hard to sustain these schools with only the efforts of local people. The only option for these schools is to receive continuous assistance by the establishers or to become government schools. CanDo does not have great enough financial capacity or intention to continue assisting schools forever. Concerning the sustainability of such schools and CanDo's assistance, Nagaoka made the comment;

CanDo is a small organisation and we sometimes fail to get funding in our projects. If we build a new school in the community and that school is dependent on the assistance of outside from the beginning. We don't have any guarantee to give assistance to the school in the long run or any intention to do so. Anyway, existing schools have been sustained without the help from outsiders, so when we don't have enough funding, we don't have to think about the sustainability of the schools themselves. We can ask them to continue the activities within their own budget or without additional budget improvising their own resources. (Nagaoka from the interview on 15 September 2006)

The idea of sustainability for their projects might derive from the necessity caused by the size and capacity of the organisation, but Nagaoka's way of thinking about projects raises some fundamental questions over the role of outsiders in development assistance.

#### *Local Context Oriented Planning*

This last characteristic of sustainability is in central to the way CanDo makes plans in its operations. In Kenya like many other parts of Africa, the situations of marginalised people greatly differ in terms of their culture, geographic environments, and social conditions. In order to sensitively respond to local needs and conditions, CanDo plans its projects after conducting meticulous research on the

issues to be worked on. By doing this, CanDo has been successful in making plans which fit into the local context without relying on international trends in development theory which have been developed in some other places in the South as well as in the North. The element which allows such specific local context orientated planning is in part the size of the organisation. Due to its smallness, CanDo does not have any other project sites other than Mwingi. All of its energy has been poured only into the projects in Mwingi. To date CanDo has taken the decision not to geographically expand outside of Mwingi but to expand the range of issues in the same region in order to pursue synergetic effects through its planning in the local context.

### 8.3. The Details of the Projects: What and How?

#### 8.3.1. Facility Improvement (Classroom Construction and Renovation)

##### *Classroom Construction and Renovation*

CanDo has been assisting primary schools with classroom construction and renovation since 1999. This is one of the main pillars of CanDo's projects because the direct interaction with the communities in the facility improvement projects is considered as the basis of CanDo's activities in schools. In 2005, CanDo assisted 21 primary schools with classroom construction or renovation in Mui and Nuu and was in discussions on projects with 25 primary schools. The main objective of the facility improvement project is not only to provide those primary schools in need with classrooms but with the transfer of skills through the project as well. The skills to be transferred to the community include technical skills to construct classrooms as well as other skills such as management, negotiation, and monitoring which would lead to "the enhancement of social capability" of the community. CanDo believes that the facility improvement projects would create the opportunities for the community to experience the process of consensus-building and problem-solving through the classroom construction or renovation, which will also trigger the re-vitalisation of education in primary schools in the community. Therefore, helped by the tradition of *Harambee*, the main actors in the projects are the parents of pupils, and the main areas of assistance provided by CanDo through classroom construction is

strengthening the skills of these parents to replicate the project on their own in the future. There is no special and sophisticated, high-technology used in construction but classrooms are built based on the technology that parents can utilise on their own after completing the projects. For this purpose, the classrooms built through CanDo's projects are of a better quality but have as simple an appearance as ordinary classrooms built by the community.

In order to prepare the process of learning skills such as problem-solving and management through the project, the first step in a facility improvement project is to share responsibilities between CanDo and the community involved the project and to negotiate a consensus on the sharing of responsibilities amongst stakeholders, especially amongst parents. Table 7 shows the responsibilities shared by CanDo and the community in such projects. The fundamental idea of cost sharing in construction is that CanDo provides a construction manual and materials which require monetary outlay such as cement, iron sheet, and timber. Tools for the construction are lent to the community, and these tools are donated to the schools after the project at the request of the community. On the other hand, the community provides materials which are not normally purchased but are made by parents when building their houses or storage building. CanDo identified that in the tradition of the Kamba community even ordinary people have skills for brick making utilising local materials and that other construction materials such as stone, ballast, sand, and water are collectable in the community. In such a local situation, CanDo provides professional advice in order to improve the quality of materials, such as advice on a better way of brick making and the appropriate size of ballast for construction; this could be the provision of on-the-job training to improve the technical skills of members of the community in construction.

### *The Enhancement of Construction Skills*

Classroom construction requires both skilled labour and unskilled labour. Although parents can contribute their labour in some process of the classroom construction, other process requires at least a professional carpenter and mason, who are normally called *Fundi* in Kiswahili. Unlike many classroom construction projects

in Japan's ODA which have often been criticised by other donors for their high costs and large scale,<sup>172</sup> *Fundi* are hired for the projects by school management committees at their own expense. CanDo does not send masons for construction to the schools but construction consultants who give only technical advice to *Fundi*. This arrangement reflects one of the objectives of the facility improvement projects; the transfer of construction skills to the community. If masons are sent to schools by CanDo, the local community will not have the opportunities to receive training for their local *Fundi* through the projects. Therefore, *Fundi* are normally hired from the community. The quality of classrooms built through the project should be the best expected in the local situation, but the technology used in the project should not be too high for local *Fundi* to learn from CanDo's construction consultants.

#### *Cost Sharing for Facility Improvement*

In most cases of classroom construction, CanDo's assistance to the community takes the form of the provision of materials, advice, and opportunities for discussions amongst members of the community. Direct payment for employment cost is not shouldered by CanDo, but by schools. Therefore, *Fundi* are employed by school management committees, and the wage is funded by the schools, which means by parents and schools<sup>173</sup> in the Kenyan context. The most important reason for this cost sharing in the employment of *Fundi* is to avoid situations where physical money is directly paid to the community by CanDo, which would create opportunities for misuse and overcharging

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<sup>172</sup> The accurate number of classrooms constructed in Japan's ODA was not clearly reported, but the ODA white paper shows 1,912 classrooms were constructed in 9 countries as examples of education assistance in 2004 (MOFA 2005a). Conventionally, many of those classrooms are constructed by Japanese companies using high-tech and at high cost.

<sup>173</sup> Before the Free Primary Education (FPE) Policy launched in 2003, the payment for *Fundi* was collected from parents. However, since FPE, there is a small budget allocation for facility improvement in schools, which some schools could utilise for the facility improvement project. However, as the budget itself is very small, especially for small schools which accommodate small number of pupils, the employment cost for *Fundi* are mostly collected through *Harambee* by parents.

**Table 7. The Cost-Sharing in the Facility Improvement Projects**

| Item                  | Community   | CanDo  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Construction Material | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Providing locally available materials (brick, sand, stone, ballast, and water);</li> <li>- For major renovation: providing external materials equivalent to 10% of the cost of external materials (*).</li> </ul>                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Providing external construction materials (cement, iron sheet, timber etc);</li> <li>- Lending construction tools; and</li> <li>- Providing construction manuals.</li> </ul>  |
| Human Resources       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Providing qualified skilled labour (<i>Fundi</i> and carpenters);</li> <li>- Providing non-skilled labours;</li> <li>- Controlling materials by stock taking and store keeping;</li> <li>- Supervising the construction work.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Giving technical advice for construction through a consultant and manuals;</li> <li>- Monitoring the entire process of construction.</li> </ul>   |
| Transport             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Receiving the external materials at Mwingi town</li> <li>- Transporting the external materials and tools from CanDo Storage to the school when necessary.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shouldering costs of material transport from a hardware shop in Mwingi town to school a maximum of 3 (three) times;</li> <li>- Issuing other external materials and tools from the CanDo Store;</li> <li>- Lending an animal drawn cart to the school.</li> </ul> |

\* “External materials” means materials that are not locally available.

Source: Project Progress Report of 2005 (CanDo 2006)

At first, we wondered whether we should pay the cost for the employment of *Fundi*. The cost itself is not a big amount, but we had some concerns on how much we should pay for the employment and who would be employed because we wanted the community to choose *Fundi* they would employ for their project. If we decided to shoulder the cost for the employment, we were worried it would create more possibility for overcharging as we don't know the normal wage for *Fundi* in the community. Furthermore, we were also worried that some people with power might make the best use of the opportunity to gain personal benefits by imposing a pressure to employ a member of their families. This could prevent the school from employing skilled *Fundi*. If unskilled *Fundi* are employed only for the convenience for certain people, we cannot keep the good quality in constructing a classroom. I wanted to avoid such a situation leading to an obstacle for self-reliance. Therefore, we decided not to shoulder the cost for *Fundi*. When employment is made directly with the donor's money, I thought it would be difficult for parents to make objections against the employment for the benefits for certain people with power. However, if the employment is made from their own money, it would become easier for them to be responsible for the employment. (Nagaoka from informal conversation on 8 September 2004)

With such intentions, CanDo does not have any intervention in the arrangements for the employment of *Fundi* except in asking the School Management Committees to avoid employing *Fundi* who are directly related to any member of the School Management Committee. The arrangements for money collection and the employment of *Fundi* are made locally. Explanation of this employment arrangement is given by the staff of CanDo in a parents' meeting. Normally any consensus on decisions involving the project is expected to reach between parents and the headteacher of the school, after explanations have been made to the School Management Committee without the presence of CanDo. When the notification of consensus comes, CanDo visits the school to a meeting with the School Management Committee to confirm the consensus. When CanDo cannot ensure that the proper procedure for consensus-building has occurred, CanDo voices its opinion on the consensus and asks the committee to have a parents' meeting on the issue.

I visited two schools with Natsuki and Martin for a meeting with the School Management Committees. The main purpose of the visits was the assurance of the consensus in the schools concerning the classroom construction projects. There was a big difference in the atmosphere of the meetings between the two. In one school, the headteacher took the whole initiative in the meeting and he was the only person who talked with us. Although he often said, "There is no problem. The parents understand the conditions", no other member of the committee spoke anything in the meeting with grave facial expression. As we could not make sure if the consensus was made between the parents and the headteacher, we asked the headteacher to hold a parents' meeting as we would like to talk directly with the

parents concerning the issue. We left the school the other school was very different. The committee members were very active in talking and expressed their opinions and ideas freely. Both fathers and mothers did. The chairperson even asked the headteacher to bring the ledger from the headteacher's room. I heard this kind of relationship is very rare in many schools in Kenya where headteachers normally have the absolute power over parents. The atmosphere between the parents and the headteacher was very good, and the behaviours of the parents gave us the confirmation that enough discussion had been clearly made between the parents and the headteacher. We proceeded to the next step in the project. (from field notes on 23 September 2003)

### *The Enhancement of Management Skills, Ownership, and Self-reliance*

The enhancement of management skills is an important aspect of the facility improvement projects. CanDo believes that management skills are indispensable to the “social capability” of the community as well as to the projects accomplished by the community. Therefore, the facility improvement projects are structured to nurture such skills in stakeholders involved in the projects with a special focus on parents, so that parents can participate in the projects not as the subordinate providers of labour and finance but as the equal partners of teachers.

The main responsible body in a facility improvement project is the official School Management Committee of which the headteacher is secretary. All the decisions regarding the project are made through the School Management Committee based on the consensus with parents. Advice is given to the School Management Committee on the management of the project and materials on the condition that the School Management Committee is responsible for solving any problems which would prevent the projects' completion. In order to ensure the enhancement of management skills, CanDo regularly conducts monitoring of bookkeeping in stock taking and store keeping together with the chairperson and the headteacher, and gives advice when missing records and mistakes are found. In cases of missing materials, CanDo demands the School Management Committee provides compensation for the missing materials no matter how small the amount is:

In the early days, there were some cases where the embezzlement of a few bags of cement took place in some projects. In one primary school, the headteacher was suspected of the embezzlement, but we were not sure who did because parents kept quiet on the embezzlement. According to the memorandum of understanding between CanDo and the school management committee of the school, we



demanded the school management committee for the compensation of the missing materials. After a while, we heard that the parents took action to kick the headteacher off the school. This is a very extreme case, and we heard that the headteacher was notorious for the misuse in assistance from the government and other donors as well. I don't think it's our job to agitate the social engineering amongst the parents, but what is important I believe is to show the attitudes that we won't allow anybody to take advantage on the project through misuse and to make it clear that misuse makes damages to the community, not to us. (Nagaoka from the informal interviews on 6 August 2003)

The resolute attitude of CanDo towards the misuse of materials has been well recognised by the community, and blatant cases of misuse are not seen these days. There were some possible cases of misuse, but “arrangements to solve the problems seem to be made through parents' meetings before it is clearly pointed out” (Natsuki, CanDo staff, from an informal interview on 4 February 2004).

This attitude also seems to help encourage self-reliance in the community. In 2006, when there was a severe drought, CanDo made arrangements for a loan to cover the employment of *Fundi* for some primary schools engaged in the projects in case they found it difficult to cover the cost. Nine primary schools out of 35 applied for the loan, but more than half of the schools rejected the loan. The reason for the rejection of the loan was that they could manage to cover the cost. Nagaoka said, “Natsuki reported to me that they said they did not want to borrow money which they must reimburse. They know from the experience with us that we will definitely demand the reimbursement, and we will.” (An informal interview on 18 March 2006)

### 8.3.2. In-Service Teacher Training and the Related Activities

#### *From Textbook Assistance to In-Service Teacher Training*

CanDo's intervention in formal primary education is not limited to the improvement of physical facilities, but has been extended to the improvement of the quality of education provided to children in the divisions. In its feasibility studies in 1998, CanDo identified lack of textbooks as an urgent and serious problem which led to poor quality of education. There was only one textbook in the class, which was the teacher's, and no teaching happened except the teacher writing the content of the textbook on the blackboard (Kunieda and Nakamura 2003). The teachers in Nuu

Division explained that this was the only way to teach children without textbooks and that poor quality of their teaching resulted from lack of textbooks.

However, even before the textbook assistance to primary schools in its early years, CanDo came to recognise that material assistance could be of help but does not solve all the problems of poor quality of education and that the issue of teachers' morale is the most serious issue in the divisions. CanDo interviewed education officers and teachers in the divisions and concluded that the other main elements in the demoralisation of teachers are lack of endogenous incentives for good teaching, and poor relationships between teachers and parents (CanDo 2004). In order to tackle the problem of demoralisation, CanDo launched in-service teacher training since 2000. Hitherto, CanDo has conducted four types of in-service teacher training in Nuu and Mui Divisions; Teachers' Training on Motivation, Teachers' Training for Practical Environmental Activities, Training for Early Childhood Development (ECD) Teachers, and Teachers' training for AIDS Education. Although the main participants in the training are teachers, CanDo has also tried to include parents to the greatest extent possible so as to provide opportunities for discussions between them.

#### *Teachers' Training on Motivation*

Teachers' Training on Motivation was conducted from 2000 to 2003 in all but one primary school in Nuu Division. CanDo has concluded that it is not easy for teachers in these divisions as in many other rural parts of Kenya, to maintain high morale due to the difficult educational environment in rural areas. Many teachers in rural areas are isolated and have very limited opportunities to share educational information and to discuss their difficulties and problems with other teachers, opportunities which would be indispensable to motivate themselves to teach (Kunieda and Nakamura 2003). In order to tackle these problems, CanDo launched Teachers' Training for Motivation in Nuu Division in consultation with area education officers in 2000.

The training was first conducted with headteachers and senior teachers in Nuu town, and later school based workshops were held so that every teacher could

participate in the training. The workshops were facilitated by CanDo Kenyan staff and education officers in the division. The original plan of this teacher training was to hold workshops to tackle issues through the discussion of problems and difficulties only amongst the teachers of each school. However, in the course of conducting workshops in several primary schools, CanDo became aware that cooperation and understanding between teachers and parents was crucial in tackling the issues of teachers' morale in teaching. Thus, parents have been also invited to participate in the workshops since 2001, and the teacher training on motivation came to be a forum for teachers and parents to discuss primary education in the community.

The response to the training from teachers was generally good, especially from the teachers who participated in a workshop together with parents at their schools. Although it is difficult for teachers to motivate themselves in the long run through participation in just one workshop, there seems to have been some impact on the relationship with colleagues and parents. This could be partly because there had been almost no communication amongst ordinary teachers and with parents to discuss children's education in the community. Teachers are normally posted from outside of the community and are quite often isolated from the community, which creates a relationship of mutual suspicion. Teachers' positive comments on the relationship with the parents and the colleagues after the workshops are as follows;<sup>174</sup>

Before when we called them (the parents) for meetings, they did not come. But after the workshop, they come and we talk to them. You can see they have positive results. They appreciate and even they come to visit us. Even when they are not invited, they come and ask the problems of the pupils. ... Like Std 4, when they saw the pupils sitting on the floor, they asked why the pupils were sitting on the floor. I explained the situation (A male teacher in Mutyangome Primary School (P.S.) on 29<sup>th</sup> July 2003).

According to Africans, females or ladies are referred as witches or whores and they are not supposed to be like men...There are more women than men in our school.

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<sup>174</sup> In-depth interviews and focus group discussions took place with in total 252 participants including teachers, parents, and education officers at education offices and at 13 primary schools out of 28 in Nuu Division by the author and others as part of an evaluation research project on CanDo's projects in 2003. The main purpose of the evaluation was the improvement of CanDo's projects in the future. The comments of the teachers were collected from those interviews and discussions. The teachers were interviewed under the condition of anonymity.

So they (the parents) hate that. Maybe, because the lady teachers are so many, the school cannot perform well and some of them backbite us. But, when they saw how we were actively motivated, how cooperative we were with the other teachers, they (the parents) changed their attitudes and appreciate us that we are even better than men. (A female teacher in Muangeni P.S. on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2003)

After the workshop we started having lunch and tea together (amongst teachers in the school). Tea together helps us to discuss problems we face. And also lunch time we discuss. We try to know how we are supposed to relate to parents and pupils. (A male teacher in Kalesi P.S. on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003)

The topics might be teachers' problems either with children or in class. We feel we need to discuss with teachers. Something like that this child did this and this. By discussing amongst the teachers, I will be able to handle the case. (Another male teacher in Kalesi P.S. on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003)

On the other hand, in a school where the teachers had had workshops only amongst themselves without parental participation, their response to the training was a little different from the above mentioned.

I have forgotten some of the points we discussed, but I can remember that one about sharing common lunch. We had no common lunch but we started. It is working very well. You find that's good because we have same difficulties in teaching. ... (About the parents)... they don't send their children to school. You can see we are understaffed. We cannot afford time to call parents to such meetings (for discussion). It will be so time consuming, and they will not see the points. (A male teacher in Imwamba P.S on 9<sup>th</sup> July 2003)

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of motivation workshops on the morale of teachers only using these comments by teachers. However, what their comments suggests isolated situations where they hardly had any communication with parents or even with their colleagues and that the provision of opportunities for communication amongst them helps them to face certain problems they felt they had in their work. In this sense, the workshops given by CanDo seem to have had a positive effect on the teachers in Nuu.

### *Practical Environmental Activities and Education*

The Practical Environmental Activities and Education Project was launched in 2000 to (1) promote children's understanding of the environment and their conservation awareness, (2) promote children's learning in class, and (3) enhance

teachers' morale with a view to the community also learning about environmental conservation from the children. The main components of the project are to promote such environmental activities as a school garden, growing seedlings, beekeeping, woodworking and tree planting and to integrate environmental activities with an academic subject, i.e. science, in schools.<sup>175</sup> In addition to the promotion of environmental activities at school, the project also aims to motivate teachers through teacher training in the activities.

Teacher training in environmental activities and education plans to provide teachers with ideas on how to deal with practical environmental activities in academic subjects, opportunities to share teachers' ideas and information on teaching and a place for teachers to exhibit their performance in education other than throughout the KCPE results, all with facilitation by a CanDo Kenyan consultant. Through the integration of environmental activities into academic subjects, in 2001 and 2002 children's conferences with presentations on environmental activities and education were held with the participation of teachers, children, and parents to promote teaching and learning in school and an understanding of the environment in the community (CanDo 2004).<sup>176</sup> Teacher training in environmental activities is expected to motivate those teachers who are more concerned with the academic results achieved in the KCPE to be more interested in environmental activities and conservation through their integration into academic subjects. Due to the integration with science, the response of teachers towards practical environmental activities was good especially when they were connected with the pupils' presentations in NuU in 2001 and 2002.

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<sup>175</sup> Before the reduction of the number of subjects was made in 1999, practical environmental activities were planned to be integrated into such vocational subjects as agriculture and woodwork in the primary education curriculum. However, along with the elimination of vocational subjects in the school curriculum, environmental activities are now mainly dealt with in science.

<sup>176</sup> In 2001, the conferences were held at some schools which invited other schools, and these were scaled up to the divisional level conference with participation by 25 primary schools in 2002. The topics dealt in the presentations were "plant science", "principle of work", "the nature of materials", "energy", and so on. Children gave presentations to the audience on topics such as cooking devices by solar power, pulleys, plants, and seeds (CanDo 2004).

School-based practical environmental activities are not conducted in every primary school. Primary schools which are interested in the activities can apply for the project. Material assistance in terms of tools is provided to these schools to launch such environmental activities as growing seedlings and school gardens with advice through school visits by a CanDo consultant. Parents are also expected to participate in the activities through conveying their local knowledge to children and through the management of tools in school as well as in learning about environmental conservation from teachers and children. The parents' representatives are also expected to participate in some of the workshops for teachers in order to learn the objectives and the importance of environmental conservation. Learning and teaching from parents to children and vice versa is expected to take place through environmental activities at school.

The most difficult part of this project lies in finding ways to normalise the environmental activities as daily educational activities. Currently, there are some schools which have continuously conducted environmental activities at school, but in the most part of the activities depend on individual interests and efforts by teachers, and there have been not many big activities and workshops held since the sudden demise of the first environment consultant. Furthermore, securing funding for this kind of environmental education and activities by itself is increasingly difficult, as most of the funding sources for environmental projects tend to place greater value on afforestation projects in Japan. The revision of the direction of the project or the securing of independent financial sources is indispensable to extending the current scale of the project.

### *AIDS Education*

The School Health Project concerning AIDS education was launched in 2004 to cope with HIV/AIDS issues which had been becoming more acute in the divisions. The early years when CanDo started its activities in Nuu and Mui, HIV/AIDS did not seem to be a serious issue for the community. Former President Moi declared HIV/AIDS as a national disaster in 1999, but even after that, people in Nuu and Mui only recognised HIV/AIDS as a serious disease which occurred

somewhere else in western Kenya, Nairobi, Mombasa and other urban cities for some period of time. However, the situation seemed to change in the divisions around 2003. Famous businessmen and politicians died of AIDS in the community, and members of the community became more aware of the seriousness of the issue. Around this time, the suggestion was raised that CanDo be engaged in HIV/AIDS issues amongst teachers. A feasibility study was conducted to identify the problems and issues concerning HIV/AIDS, which CanDo was engaged from January 2004.

The AIDS education project was launched in the latter half of 2004 based on the feasibility study which identified that confusion on HIV/AIDS had arisen in the community due to the differing information provided by different sources and the fact that people in the community did not know which source they should believe. Teachers who were supposed to provide correct knowledge on HIV/AIDS were very reluctant to be engaged in AIDS education although the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS issues had begun in primary education (Nakamura 2004).<sup>177</sup> Given this result, CanDo made a decision to take an educational approach to HIV/AIDS issues because an educational approach can involve all the crucial elements of CanDo's philosophy of community development. However, the educational approach of CanDo is a little different to the current trend in AIDS education in school which promotes peer education, involving the training of pupils and students to exchange information and knowledge on HIV/AIDS to affect changes amongst themselves (UNAIDS 1999). Peer education for HIV/AIDS prevention amongst children has been widely practised and promoted by many organisations such as UNAIDS, UNICEF, UNESCO, DFID, and USAID as well as such NGOs as World Vision and ActionAid.

Coincidentally, however, CanDo's educational approach to AIDS education is very similar to the literacy programme for Parents and Children (PPH) in Chile as described by Richards in the 1980s (Richards 1985). The theme of workshops in AIDS education projects is how to teach children about HIV/AIDS and how to

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<sup>177</sup> The revision of syllabi in primary education has been made in phases since 2003 in Kenya. The mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS issues is one of the greatest elements in the revision. Along with the revision of the syllabi, teachers are to integrate HIV/AIDS issues into every subject taught in primary education.

protect themselves from infection, but the real objective of the project is to tackle HIV/AIDS as one of many problems in the wider community. Teaching HIV/AIDS to children properly requires adults to have an appropriate understanding of HIV/AIDS, to negotiate consensus on teaching sexually related issues to small children at school as well as at home, and to change adults' thinking and behaviours in HIV/AIDS related issues so as to protect children as well as adults from infection. Furthermore, all of these also require cooperation amongst schools, families, and communities. CanDo's project is different to the project for PPH in that CanDo's AIDS education project involves not only the participants in the workshops, who are suppressed and powerless, but also the whole community which includes parents, teachers, government officers, and local politicians.

For this reason, CanDo's approach to tackle AIDS education has started with building consensus between schools and communities. As the first step, CanDo has started school-based AIDS awareness workshops for teachers and parents so that the participants in the workshops can acquire accurate information on HIV/AIDS and have discussions in order to form a consensus on AIDS education for children in primary education.<sup>178</sup> The agenda of the AIDS awareness workshops includes scientific knowledge about HIV/AIDS and other related issues such as the use of condoms as an effective preventive measure, living together with people infected with HIV/AIDS, and the sexual misuse of children in the community, with discussion on the methods of protecting children from HIV infection.

As the second step, teacher training in AIDS education is launched to prepare for children's conferences (Child Presentation Day on HIV/AIDS)<sup>179</sup> so that parents and the community can grasp what is taught to children, as well as to open up the issues in the community. For the third step, further discussion takes place between teachers and members of the community to consider the quality of AIDS

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<sup>178</sup> In 2004 and 2005 school-based AIDS awareness workshops were held in 26 primary schools with 1,245 participants.

<sup>179</sup> In the case of Nu'u Division, six conferences were held in 2005 by all but one primary school in the division with the total participation of about 5800 people, which included teachers, pupils, parents, and leaders of the communities.



education given to children. For the fourth step, further teacher training in AIDS education is conducted to improve the quality of AIDS education in primary school. Based on these workshops, further training for teachers and for mothers has been separately conducted to deepen exploration of the issues and to encourage community action to tackle the issues.<sup>180</sup>

Also, unlike educational projects by other organisations such as the School for Life in Ghana (Akyeampong 2004) and the Save the Children School in Mali (Molteno *et al.* 2000), CanDo is not involved in textbook production even in AIDS education. Materials for in-service teacher training and classroom teaching are purely based on the syllabi and the textbooks authorised by the Kenyan government. The reliance on the government textbooks in AIDS education is based on CanDo's same principle that direct intervention in the content of education should not be made by outsiders, but by people who are responsible for educating children. For CanDo, it is people in the community who should think about the way to educate their children, which affects their behaviours and attitudes in the community as well. Therefore, the main focus on the project is on creating opportunities for discussions and consensus-building and action concerning the problem of HIV/AIDS in the community by teachers, parents, and also other members of the community themselves.

### *Early Childhood Development (ECD)*

The ECD support project was also started in response to a consultation with the area education office in Mui Division in 2002. Prior to the consultation, CanDo conducted research in collaboration with Tokai University on the health and nutrition status of children under five years of age in Mui<sup>181</sup> in 1999 and 2000. The research

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<sup>180</sup> The training for mothers through non-formal education will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

<sup>181</sup> At the time of research, Mui was a sub-location of Nuu Division. It was formed as a division in 1999.

identified that many of the children suffered from malnutrition and chronic illness caused by their life environment and habits.

Preventive measures against illness are crucial in places like Mui and Nuu where access to medical facilities is so limited, but CanDo identified no preventive activities to ensure the health of children other than vaccination in the divisions, and also that health group activities organised by other NGOs had ended in failure in the past. Against this background, CanDo attempted to shed light on ECD centres, which are mostly attached to primary schools in the divisions, and conducted feasibility studies for ECD projects in 2001 and 2004 in order to tackle the health and growth issues of small children. The feasibility study in 2001 focussed on quality of education in ECD centres and the growing environment of children at home, whilst the study in 2004 put special focus on the health issues of children in the division (Nagaoka and Ishii 2002; CanDo 2005).

These feasibility studies have confirmed that health and nutrition are critical elements in the growth of children in the districts, most of whom have problems of malnutrition and disease. These aspects of ECD are important in the current government policy framework as well. The Kenyan government defines Early Childhood Development and Education (ECDE) as providing “a holistic and integrated programme that meets the child’s cognitive, social, moral, spiritual, emotional and physical needs” (Ministry of Education Science and Technology 2005b:30). Health and nutrition and training opportunities for ECDE teachers are part of the main programmes of the Kenyan Education Support Programme 2005-2010 (Ministry of Education Science and Technology 2005a). As in many other areas in Kenya (UNESCO 2005),<sup>182</sup> however, too much focus was placed on

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<sup>182</sup> UNESCO has reported on the situation of ECD in Kenya as follows;

Many ECD Centres place so much emphasis on literacy and numeracy skills that they are essentially “early primary education” centres, rather than ECD Centres. Many ECD classrooms including those for 3+-year-olds have the children arrayed in rows of chairs and desks, facing the teacher standing at a blackboard. Child-centred pedagogical methods exist, but mostly in a handful of private services in urban areas. Parents’ understanding of ECD is also largely focused on children’s early acquisition of learning skills. This is particularly the case amongst illiterate poor parents: ...Such

numeracy and literacy skills in the teaching practices of ECD centres in the divisions, and the health and nutrition of the children were neglected at the time of the studies. In addition, the isolated situation of ECD teachers due to the status of ECD centres and the employment situation of ECD teachers in a school was identified as another serious issue in the improvement of ECD (CanDo 2004).<sup>183</sup>

Using the results of these studies, CanDo launched the ECD support project in 2003 with a view to enhance an understanding of the importance of balancing the elements of academic education and health/nutrition in ECD. Initial assistance to ECD provided teaching materials produced by the Kenyan government<sup>184</sup> and training for ECD teachers to deepen their knowledge of health and nutrition for children. Headteachers of primary schools<sup>185</sup> and parents were also invited to the training to consider the role of ECD in children's growth together with ECD teachers, so that ECD teachers could gain support from parents and headteachers and so that ECD teachers' knowledge of health and nutrition could be conveyed to parents through daily activities in ECD centres. The training has developed into a series of five-day health care training courses for ECD teachers which especially focus on health issues that affect small children in ECD centres.<sup>186</sup> With the advantage of that

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parental pressure can turn ECD Centres into de facto "early primary education" facilities.(UNESCO 2005:14).

<sup>183</sup> In Kenya, most ECD teachers are hired not by the government but often by parents, and only one ECD teacher is hired in many ECD centres. As a result, in many cases in Nuu and Mui, ECD teachers are treated in the same way as a cook or a watchman, and there was almost no communication on education between primary teachers and ECD teachers in schools (Kunieda and Nakamura 2006).

<sup>184</sup> Early Childhood Development Teachers In-service Education Syllabus (2000); Guidelines for Training of Early Childhood Development Trainers in Kenya (2001) Nairobi, KIE. These ECD teacher training materials are developed by the Kenya Institute of Education, which stresses the importance of ECD teachers acquiring full knowledge of the multidimensional aspects of child development.

<sup>185</sup> Headteachers of primary schools are also responsible for ECD centres attached to their primary schools.

<sup>186</sup> For example, in Nuu, three-day basic health care training was conducted in March 2005 in which 40 ECD teachers from 39 out of 41 ECD centres in the division completed the training: Two-day advanced health care training was conducted in May 2005 in which 46 ECD teachers from all of the 41 ECD centres attended (CanDo 2006).

ECD teachers being in a closer relationship with parents<sup>187</sup> than primary school teachers, the training encourages ECD teachers to plan and implement ECD centre-based health activities with parents. Growth monitoring is one of such activities implemented in many of the ECD centres, in which the teachers and parents attended the training.

According to the UNESCO report based on a study conducted in 2004, ECD programmes in Kenya have “almost collapsed” because children’s enrolment has decreased since the introduction of FPE, especially in poorer areas, but probably Kenya-wide as well. This is partly because parents opt to send their children straight to primary school, skipping ECD which is still fee-paying, and partly because the quality of ECD, which is dependent on contributions from parents, has deteriorated in both content and facilities (UNESCO 2005:15). The report suggests that FPE has had a very negative impact on ECD especially for those parents who consider ECD only as a form of early primary education and have difficulties in paying fees. However, such a decline in ECD enrolment leading to the “collapse” of ECD has not been observed in Nuu and Mui. There are some schools, although a very small number, who are engaged in classroom construction for ECD centres through CanDo’s projects. ECD teachers are actively engaged in such activities as the growth monitoring of children in their centres with support from the communities (from the field note on 8<sup>th</sup> July 2005). The impact of CanDo’s projects on ECD have not yet been clearly evaluated and needs further investigation, but the activity of ECD teachers and the parental support could suggest CanDo’s activities have had some impact on ECD in the community when this is compared to the findings of the study by UNESCO in 2004.

In addition, a similar kind of ECD project to that of CanDo was undertaken by the World Bank in Kenya from 1997 to 2004, which placed special focus on

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<sup>187</sup> CanDo has observed that more mothers come to ECD teachers for consultation on their children than to primary school teachers, and has concluded that the gender and lower status of ECD teachers in the community makes it easier for mothers to approach ECD teachers. The majority of male primary teachers come from other areas and most of the female teachers are from local families who have higher status in the community (From an informal interview with Nagaoka on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2004).

nutritional and health needs as well as the learning needs of children, together with a focus on building the capacity of the community (UNESCO 2005). Parts of Mui and Nu'u were covered by the World Bank's project. The greatest difference between the World Bank and CanDo's projects is the scale of community involvement in the projects. While the geographical scale of its project is larger than that of CanDo, the scale of community participation in the World Bank's project at the community level is naturally smaller than that of CanDo. The larger the coverage of the regions, the more limited the number of participants from each community. Furthermore, in the case of CanDo's projects, those parents who are expected to support ECD in their communities are also the trainees of CanDo's health care projects in the community. Those parents who understand the importance of health care and are actively engaged in health activities in their communities have another opportunity to think about the role of ECD for children through CanDo's ECD projects.

However, this does not mean that we can deny the value of projects undertaken by such large organisations as the World Bank, but suggests the difference in the nature and the role of each organisation. The regional coverage of CanDo's activities is very small, and therefore it can have a more comprehensive and in-depth programme in the region. Some might point out the overlap in the projects by CanDo and the World Bank, but these are not overlapping but complementary; the World Bank supports CanDo's projects from the top and CanDo supports the World Bank from the bottom, at the community level. Furthermore, this complementary relationship occurred thanks to the consistency of the projects of each, which also occurred due to CanDo's philosophy of respect for government policy on the content of education.

### 8.3.3. Health Projects in Nonformal Education

#### *From Self-Help Group Assistance to Health Training for Women*

The origins of CanDo's nonformal education projects lie in the assistance given to self-help groups working on the expansion of Mui dispensary as discussed in a previous section. For the establishment of a community primary health care system, CanDo planned and deployed assistance to (1) the establishment of a

sustainable management system for the dispensary, (2) the provision of information to the community on primary health care, nutrition and medical services delivered at the dispensary, (3) health related activities in the context of primary schools, (4) fostering groups amongst local health workers, traditional birth attendants (TBAs), traditional healers, and (5) health training in which members of the community share their health problems and discuss health issues.

In order to establish this system, CanDo had planned to launch projects to foster group activities by local health workers, TBAs, and traditional healers, whom CanDo expected to work as the systematic conveyers of health information to the community. However, in addition to the problems of local politics which afflicted the Mui dispensary, a study of similar experiences by AMREF in Kitui led CanDo to the conclusion that training mothers through nonformal education would be a more effective method of conveying information and knowledge to the community. These mothers are selected for training by members of the community as the intermediaries providing information to other members of the community. By 2004, the main focus of health projects had been shifted to health care training for women of child-bearing age and TBAs in order to encourage these women to launch health group activities in their communities to promote health of their families and themselves, as well as to acquire knowledge and skills on health and nutrition to convey to other people in the community. In 2005, the projects and the group activities were extended to include work on HIV/AIDS issues.

#### *Basic Household Health Care (BHHC) Training for Women of Child-Bearing Age*

Health training on basic household health care has been conducted for women of child-bearing age (from their late teens to their 40s) since 2001 in Mui, 2005 in Nguni, and 2006 in NuU. The objective of the training is to teach basic knowledge and skills concerning health care and nutrition, which includes the ideas of Primary Health Care, maternal health, nutrition, and general and infectious diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria, STIs, and HIV/AIDS. The participants are selected from each village in the divisions at *Baraza*, Kiswahili for village meetings. In Mui, for example, 319 women participated in the training course so that they can

practically employ the acquired knowledge and skills at home and in the community. The BHHC training consists of a three-day basic course, follow-up sessions through household visits, and a one-day refresher course to review the training. In the follow-up sessions after the basic course, participants are encouraged to form health groups to share information and discuss health issues so as to strengthen the health activities they launched in their communities. The follow-ups have identified individual and group activities such as the preparation and provision of oral rehydration solutions to improve health, the instalment of rubbish pits and dish-shelves, the construction of latrines to improve hygiene, the construction of soil terraces to improve conservation, and the cultivation of vegetables and breeding of goats and poultry for nutrition.

The assistance for group activities provided by CanDo is limited to the provision of advice and lending working tools to the groups. Some groups have taken root in the communities, and income generating activities through the sale of surplus vegetables, and eggs after the allocation amongst the members are sometimes launched autonomously by the groups. Others started to take care of orphans in the community. *Harambee* such as “merry-go-round”<sup>188</sup> is often conducted amongst the groups to help women to have some money for themselves. Goats and poultry are considered as the women’s communal property and also work as emergency savings for the members of the group. CanDo puts an emphasis on group activities leading to the improvement of the health and nutrition status of themselves rather than generating income, but has taken the view of respecting the ownership and autonomous activities of the members of the health groups.

### *Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) Training*

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<sup>188</sup> Merry-go-round is one of the widely-practised collaborative fund-raising activities amongst a group of people. Members of a group regularly bring small amounts of money to a meeting, and one of the members is entitled in turn to obtain all the money raised by the members. In the case of a group of ten members in Mui, each member has to bring 20 shillings (about US\$0.3) to each meeting, and each one of the members is entitled to get 200 shillings in turn. The money is often used to buy children’s clothes and items for house chores such as dishes and cooking utensils (from an interview with members of CanDo’s health group in Mui Division on 9<sup>th</sup> August 2003)

Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) Training was launched in 2004 in response to concerns by the community which were identified by the participants in the BHHC training. In the target divisions where access to medical facilities and frequent transport is extremely limited, most women give birth at home and these women have serious concerns regarding maternal health, especially in the delivery of children. The absence of trained TBAs is a critical issue for the community, which leads to a poor standard of safe motherhood. Given this background, CanDo planned to conduct TBA training in cooperation with the Ministry of Health of Mwingi District. An agreement was made on the condition that the Ministry of Health would send its facilitator for the TBA training and CanDo would coordinate the training.

Six-week TBA training was conducted in Mui Division with the participation of forty-four selected TBAs. The contents of the training included the knowledge of basic health care, prenatal, and postnatal care, and referral cooperation with health facilities so as to encourage TBAs to give proper advice to mothers and take part in proper cooperation with health facilities. Furthermore, the TBA training also invited the management committee members of two local dispensaries with a view to promote the cooperation between TBAs and health facilities. Fifty two participants in total attended the TBA training in Mui Division.

In its model of the establishment of a primary health care system in the community, CanDo defines these TBAs as part of “village experts on health,” who would support the health of villagers in the community. Training for these people was conducted by other organisations in other parts of Kenya, and CanDo considers that good training for “the village experts on health” is crucial to ensure the quality of health services delivered by these people in the layer beneath the professionals working in health facilities. In addition, CanDo recognises that the success of the training lies in the selection of trainees and that the training should be taken by people who are trusted by villagers. This recognition developed through the analysis of experiences by other organisations in the target areas. The failure of those



previous training for TBAs was due to the selection of the wrong trainees.<sup>189</sup> CanDo has concluded that many of the trainees trained only for the purpose of obtaining certificates for their own merits and to explore monetary opportunities in other areas in Mwingi District, but not for benefit for women in the community.<sup>190</sup>

In order to solve these problems in selection, CanDo adopts a careful procedure for the selection of trainees for its TBA training. Firstly, CanDo conducts workshops for the participants in the BHHC training, whom CanDo expects to play the role of other “village experts on health”. The workshops are conducted with two main objectives. The first objective is to promote a better understanding of the importance of maternal health care and the role of TBAs. The second is to sensitise the trained mothers to the importance of good selection of trainees for the TBA training as well as the importance of support from the community to these TBAs. This means that these trained mothers can intervene appropriately in the selection of TBA trainees in their villages and in the provision of subsistence support from the community to the trainees during the training. After the workshops, an agreement to support the TBAs and the selection of trainees are organised to be made at *Baraza*, village meetings, with the attendance of CanDo staff as observers and the interviews of the selected TBAs conducted by a CanDo consultant to ask trainee candidates about their experiences as TBAs in the communities.

As a result of careful preparation in the TBA training, the trained TBAs have been observed to be active in other health activities in the community as well as in assisting the delivery of children. The trained TBAs are reported to initiate autonomous activities such as regular TBA meetings at the sub-location level, the

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<sup>189</sup> In the TBA training conducted by another organisation in Mui Division, the selection of the trainees was made by the local administration. The family members, relatives, and friends of administrative officers were selected as the trainees. Such selection of trainees is not considered unusual in other projects at various levels in Kenya, where the certificates of training have an important value in securing job opportunities.

<sup>190</sup> CanDo conducted research on TBAs in the community, from which CanDo identified that assistance at delivery is traditionally considered as part of reciprocal help in the custom of the divisions, and that TBAs normally do not get paid for assisting deliveries. Items such as Kanga, traditional cloth for women in East Africa, or manual labour are sometimes provided to TBAs in appreciation of their assistance according to the situation. (From an interview with Kaleli, CanDo health consultant, on 9<sup>th</sup> August 2003)

sensitisation of members of the community to the importance of a balanced diet and the prevention of diseases at *Baraza*, and school visits for the sensitisation of children to the dangers of young pregnancy. There are some groups who plan fund-raising for their health activities in the community. These examples of group activities by trained TBAs demonstrate the importance of the process of selection of trainees and the support of the community to these projects.

#### *HIV/AIDS Training for the Health Trainees in CanDo's Projects*

With the increased importance of HIV/AIDS related projects in the divisions, CanDo started HIV/AIDS training for the trainees taking BHHC Training, the TBA Training, and the ECD teacher training, whom CanDo defines as “village experts on health” in its projects to establish a primary health care system in the divisions.<sup>191</sup>

In Mui, where CanDo started the BHHC training for women in 2000, one-day HIV/AIDS training was first conducted in 2005 with the trainees from the BHHC training, the TBA training, and the ECD teacher training, with the expectation that these trainees would discuss HIV/AIDS related issues with other members as part of their ordinary health activities in the community prior to CanDo's school-based AIDS awareness workshops. The background to this training was difficulties in conducting school-based AIDS awareness workshops in Nuu Division in 2004.

CanDo's school-based AIDS awareness workshops were conducted at the autonomous request of primary schools; interestingly only nine out of twenty seven primary schools applied for the AIDS awareness workshop in the first year, although the feasibility study identified a steady demand for AIDS awareness workshops amongst villagers and teachers in the division. Investigation into the background of the small number of requests identified that there were more than a few headteachers

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<sup>191</sup> CanDo conducts training for these three parties with the vision of strengthening their knowledge and ability to be capable leaders amongst villagers, on the basis that they have taken root in the local community, whereas government officers and primary school teachers have to follow the transfer order of the local government.

who refused to hold AIDS awareness workshops in their schools. Some of these headteachers disapproved of sharing information on condoms as preventive measures against HIV infection even to adults in the community.<sup>192</sup> As a result, in some primary schools, even the information about the availability of AIDS awareness workshops was not shared with parents, and in other primary schools, requests from parents for the AIDS awareness workshops were rejected by headteachers. CanDo concluded that support to the community is crucial so that members of the community can enhance their capability to ask for necessary information for themselves.

In tackling the problems in Mui Division CanDo conducted HIV/AIDS training for its trainees so that they could create opportunities to discuss HIV/AIDS issues in the community and to judge the necessity of AIDS awareness workshops in their communities. As a result of such efforts, school-based AIDS awareness workshops were held at twelve primary schools with participation by 806 people during the four months from July to October in 2005 in Mui Division, whereas only five workshops were held with participation by 306 people in the whole year of 2005 in Nuu Division. In Mui Division, there were still more requests for AIDS awareness workshops from primary schools in 2006. Given the results of the projects in Mui and Nuu, CanDo has concluded that a bottom-up approach and participation by the community are critically important in these projects, especially concerning HIV/AIDS related issues, and launched BHHC Training for mothers with a special focus on HIV/AIDS, as well as other health issues, in Nuu Division at the beginning of 2006.

In addition, CanDo's HIV/AIDS related project has extended to the training on condoms and the demonstration of their usage for these trained mothers and TBAs

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<sup>192</sup> In Kenya like many other countries in Africa, Christian churches stand powerfully against the use of condoms, and the influence of the churches was strong in these divisions as well. This attitude is observed not only in the Catholic Church but in some of the Protestant Churches as well. In Nuu and Mui, nearly half of the members of the community belong to African Inland Church (AIC), while nearly all of the other half belong to the Catholic Church. Both of the churches basically take an attitude against condoms. The main reason for the AIC stand the use of condoms is the belief that condoms encourage people to indulge in immoral behaviour such as sexual relationships outside of marriage.

who wish to launch programmes to teach the proper use of condoms to other people in the community. This training was planned at the request of the trainees and included lending tools for demonstrations to health groups.

#### 8.4. CanDo's Policies for Autonomous Development

The most important elements of CanDo's projects lie in its efforts to induce self-help efforts by the community and to help them to make the best use of assistance from outside in nurturing their "social capability" to solve problems in the community. Therefore, the assistance provided by CanDo should be provided to the community in Mwingi in such a way that it would not undermine self-help efforts by the community. In order to induce self-help efforts by the community, CanDo has a range of policies in its operations in Mwingi, through which staff facilitate local self-help efforts. These policies concern the attitudes, lifestyle, and approach of CanDo staff towards the community and can be categorised into four types; policies to eliminate dependency, to fight against corruption, to build self-efficacy of the community, and to see the reality of the community. These efforts by CanDo match Ellerman's rough principles for autonomy-respecting development in his writing on autonomous development (Ellerman 2006).<sup>193</sup> This section will look carefully at CanDo's disciplines in order to explore CanDo's efforts to facilitate autonomous development.

##### 8.4.1. Policies to Eliminate Dependency

CanDo's assistance to Mwingi is conducted with a view that assistance which easily leads to dependency on outsiders and hinders cooperation amongst members

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<sup>193</sup> For autonomous development, Ellerman proposes three "dos" and two "don'ts" as rough principles for autonomy-respecting development and describes these as follows;

First Do: Starting from present institutions; Second Do: Seeing the world through the eyes of the client; Third Do: Respect autonomy of the doers; First Don't: Don't override the self-help capacity with social engineering; and Second Don't: Don't undercut self-help capacity with benevolent aid. (Ellerman 2006:8-24)

of the community should not be provided. In order to put this view into practice, CanDo has three policies; no assistance to specific individuals, no monetary allowances to participants, and no luxury to participants. Behind these policies lies the criticism of the Food-for-Work approach to development assistance by donor agencies. CanDo recognises the effectiveness of the Food for Work approach in promoting public work projects such as road construction in a short period of time. However, the incentive gained from the provision of food easily disrupts priorities in participants' livelihoods and detaches people from their communal work from which individual benefits are not expected (Nagaoka 1999). Therefore, in order to eliminate as much dependency as possible, these policies are strictly adhered to in CanDo's operations.

#### *No Assistance to Specific Individuals*

Assistance is provided to groups of people, not to each individual. Benefits derived from the assistance by CanDo are always expected to be shared by members of the community. The provision of tools for villagers' activities, for example, is always made to groups of people together with assistance enhancing skills regarding the management of the tools. The tools are provided to each group to share in the group. No individuals are allowed to possess the tools for themselves, so that participants in the projects could develop their own management skills to best utilise their limited resources within their communities.

Some might argue, even amongst some other NGOs in Western countries, that this strong anti-individual stance is also demonstrated by CanDo's hesitation to provide individual micro-credit. However, this concern with individual micro-credit by Westerners derives more from concern about the sustainability of these projects, which ignores a range of real economic costs (Johnson and Rogaly 1997) and this concern does not mean that they deny providing each individual with personal assistance. On the other hand, CanDo is trying to abolish personal assistance to individuals in its projects on the belief that personal assistance would spoil opportunities for local people to solve their problems through their mutual help and that assistance should be given in a form of communal benefit.

CanDo's training for members of the community is conducted under the same policy. The knowledge and skills acquired through CanDo's training are considered as communal resources. People who attain personal benefits in terms of their skills and knowledge are expected to share what they learn at the training with other people in the community. Participants in CanDo's training, except where the training is open to anybody in the community, are selected through *Baraza*, village meetings, with the aim of picking up those people who can contribute their knowledge and skills acquired through the training to members of the community. Therefore, the training is not necessarily given to the most marginalised layer of people in the community but to those people who can convey their knowledge and information to those who do not participate in the training through their own efforts. Follow-up activities are conducted by CanDo to encourage the efforts of the participants to diffuse their knowledge to the community. CanDo expects members of the community to develop skills of helping each other in knowledge sharing in the community. In this sense, even knowledge and information to be imparted through the training is considered as assistance to the community as a group of people, not to individuals in the community.

#### *No Allowances to Participants*

In any training, whether training for teachers or members of the community, CanDo never provides any form of allowances to the training participants. This policy is conducted with the strong belief that people participate when they understand the value of training to their lives and jobs. The provision of allowances would create a situation where people would accept projects for the purpose of obtaining monetary benefits, as another sources of income. In addition, the provision of allowances would be a hindrance for the community in selecting appropriate trainees, as mentioned in a previous section, and CanDo is very careful about paying even as for transportation and other costs. Therefore, the training is normally conducted at a location at a distance within which people can participate without spending money on transportation or any other costs. Accommodation and lunch are provided to participants according to necessity and the length of training.

The same policy is conducted in JICA's education projects such as the Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education (SMASSE) Project in Kenya,<sup>194</sup> in which no allowances are paid to participants in the project (Sugiyama from an informal interview on 30<sup>th</sup> May in 2003). This policy could be considered to be derived from Japanese culture which values self-help efforts to improve skills on the participants' own costs<sup>195</sup>, as Sawamura argues in his discussion on Japanese values in self-help efforts (Sawamura 2004). As a participation allowance is very common in the projects run by the government and other organisations in the target area, it was not easy for CanDo not to pay allowances in the initial stages of its projects. The policy of not paying allowances for participation in workshops is now accepted by the community.

#### *No Luxury Benefits to Participants*

In addition to the ban on allowances for participation in CanDo's projects, no luxury benefits are given to participants in the training. In cases where the training is conducted as a full-day of activities, a cup of tea and plain lunch are served. Plain bedding is provided only for those people who need accommodation to participate in the training. The plain lunch and tea are prepared by a local cook hired at the project site in order to avoid the situation where luxury food and accommodation become the incentive for participation in the projects.

The big issue in CanDo's lunch is the amount of meat in stew. The field assistants purchase an amount of meat for lunch but are very careful not to be too generous. In Nuu, goat meat is a luxury for ordinary parents. In daily life, they cannot afford to take three meals a day. They take a cup of tea for breakfast and take another meal for the day. In dry seasons, taking even one meal a day is difficult, and the school meal is often the only meal for children for a day. The butcher in Nuu town sells only one goat's meat in a day and beef is rarely available because people rarely buy meat and they don't have refrigerators to keep unsold meat. So, stew

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<sup>194</sup> The policy of providing no-allowance for participants in training is not adopted in all of the SMASSE projects. In Cambodia, allowance is paid to teachers who participated in the training (from informal communication with a former JICA expert of the SMASSE project in Cambodia on 5 December 2006)

<sup>195</sup> From the author's experience as a state school teacher in Osaka, allowance for transport is paid but normally there is no lunch provided for in-service teacher training in Japan

with goat meat is really a feast for many of the mothers. However, for officers and headteachers who have greater means in terms of cash income, the situation is a little bit different. In addition, they expect a big treat at workshops, as they are accustomed to such a treat from attending other workshops conducted in Mwingi town and Matuu. For them, a workshop meal without any meat is a kind of scandal and abuse. CanDo does not make a difference in meals depending on the participants. The budget is Ksh 20 per person (US\$0.25). The field assistants and Japanese coordinators are making strenuous efforts to strike the balance between “generous” and “abusive”. (from Field notes on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2004)

#### 8.4.2. Policies to Fight against Corruption

Another important element of CanDo’s projects is its efforts to avoid any forms of misuse or embezzlement occurring in the projects. In order to reduce any opportunities which might lead to corruption, CanDo has severely maintained five policies, which are also the main characteristics of CanDo’s approach to its projects.

##### *Compensation for Any Misuse*

More than a few concerns over misuse and embezzlement have been expressed in past experiences of education assistance, and various precautionary measures have been taken in various places in Kenya (Bray *et al.* 1976; Daily Nation 2003). CanDo is also very cautious when it comes to preventing misuse in its projects because misuse does not only damage CanDo’s projects but has a very serious influence over development in the community. For CanDo, the Facility Improvement Project has the greatest possibility of misuse amongst its projects even although direct monetary assistance to communities is not provided through the projects. A large number of construction materials are provided for classroom construction, and CanDo had heard rumours of the misuse and embezzlement of materials in projects implemented by the government as well as other organisations in the target areas, a similar situation to the one described by Bray and others in the 1970s in Kenya (Bray *et al.* 1976).

In many cases, misuse tends to take place due to lack of “downward” accountability. The details of the assistance provided are hardly disclosed to members of the community or parents, and it is often difficult for those people who do not know the details of a project to notice misuse or embezzlement unless the



whole body of assistance is misused or embezzled. In addition, historically, development projects have been often considered as the achievement of specific people who have political power, like the situation identified in the *Harambee* Secondary School Movement and HITs in Kenya. In the case of classroom construction projects as well, many headteachers often behaved as if the projects were attracted to the area thanks to their political power (Nagaoka from informal interview on 16<sup>th</sup> September 2006). In such a context, some headteachers might misunderstand the project as their achievement and try to appropriate it. Members of the community also might have a feeling that they should share some part of the assistance with those whom they consider as contributors to attracting the assistance to their community. Consequently, these members of the community could be lenient or insensitive to the misuse of assistance because they think the assistance is a gift from outside the community.

The strategy CanDo has taken to establish a sense of ownership and to prevent the misuse and embezzlement of construction materials involves firstly information sharing on the assistance and building a consensus with the School Management Committee (SMC) over the use of materials, monitoring, and compensation for any misuse.<sup>196</sup> After a consensus has been negotiated between CanDo and the SMC and cleared through a parents' meeting, assistance is provided by CanDo in such management skills as store-keeping and stock-taking as well as in construction skills, for classroom construction through frequent school visits by CanDo. When any unaccountable use of materials is found, the cause of that unaccountable use, no matter how small the amount is, is investigated through a parents' meeting, and CanDo request compensation to the SMC, the body responsible for the project. In such a case, the SMC will ask parents for *Harambee* according to the consensus negotiated in the parents' meeting. By doing so, the project aims to build a sense of ownership and responsibility for the project amongst parents and in the community.

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<sup>196</sup> The misuse of materials is defined according to the agreement in the memorandum of understanding (MOU). Through the definition in the MOU, any use of materials other than for CanDo's construction projects is understood as misuse.

In the early years of its operation, CanDo experienced some alleged cases of misuse in its projects. There was no clear evidence of who was responsible for the misuse because parents kept quiet on the matter. Some amounts of materials were missing for unaccountable reasons. In order to make the position of the responsible body clear, CanDo decided to request parents pay compensation for the unaccountable use. This decision on compensation has made it clear to parents that the misuse of its projects by someone else is directly connected with their demerit. In recent years, there has not been apparent misuse occurring in any projects due to the efforts to take clear and firm attitudes towards cases of the misuse of the materials provided for the projects. Furthermore, these experiences in the classroom construction projects have had an influence over the decision making concerning the rejection of unnecessary loans from CanDo by parents in some schools as was explained in the previous section on the Facility Improvement Project.

#### *No Direct Monetary Assistance to the Community*

No direct monetary assistance is another strategy taken by CanDo as a precautionary measure against corruption. CanDo believes that the management of money is more difficult than that of materials, especially when money is given by outsiders and not collected from the community. In a situation where members of the community are not empowered enough to be unreceptive to corruption in the power structure of the community, direct monetary assistance could create a breeding ground for misuse and embezzlement. Even in cases where money is properly managed, monetary assistance could be still utilised as an opportunity for profit-making by certain groups of people as described by the Andersons in the 1970s (Anderson and Anderson 1976). Overcharging of the purchases made with foreign money is not so unusual in daily life in Kenya, and the same situation could be easily assumed in the assistance given through the projects, which could be understood as another form of dependency on assistance from outside. To avoid such situations, the assistance given by CanDo takes the form of material provision or training, and direct monetary assistance is rarely given to the community.

### *Least Individual Profit through the Projects*

Unnecessary material assistance is often criticised as a waste of money in the arena of international development. Such unnecessary assistance is sometimes provided as a result of the exploitation of development assistance as a tool for making individual profits. Whether such exploitation is carried out by providers or recipients of assistance, development activities always carry a risk of being used as a tool for making individual profits and often attract some political intervention by people who have the intention of making profits.<sup>197</sup>

A strategy to avoid such situations is considered crucial to the success of the development activities in CanDo's target areas, and CanDo maintains a policy to reduce the opportunities for individual profit-making through its projects. According to the policy, materials and tools indispensable to any project are provided to the community directly by CanDo. These materials and tools are purchased by CanDo not in the target areas but in another neighbouring place or in Nairobi. This policy is strictly conducted with the aim of reducing opportunities for individual profit making through the projects as much as possible in the target community.

### *No Allowances for Government Officers*

The same policy concerning the ban on allowances for participants in the projects is taken in the case of government officers. This is one of the most important policies for CanDo in its relationship with government officers. All of CanDo's projects are conducted in partnership with the local government in line with the policies of the Kenyan government. CanDo considers that the role of CanDo is to assist government officers to do their original official duties in their position and not vice versa. Given this principle, CanDo never provides allowances for government officers who are in charge of communities in the divisions and who work with CanDo. For CanDo, providing allowances to government officers will mean that

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<sup>197</sup> Like many other parts in the world, successful businessmen have a strong influence over local politics, and local politicians are often also successful businessmen in Mwingi.

CanDo expects the officers to work for CanDo and that CanDo thinks that working for the community in their charge during working hours is included in the original duties of the government officers.

The policy of not providing any allowances for government officers has been strictly maintained since the beginning of CanDo's activities in Mwingi with the strong belief that providing allowances from CanDo would damage the morale of government officers for carrying out their original duties and could easily mislead these officers into seeking additional money to their salary from the government. CanDo believes such a custom of providing allowances could easily lead to corruption by these government officers in the long run, because some of these government officers would become too accustomed to accepting additional money for their duties. As a result, they would take the same attitudes towards local people for whom they are supposed to work, and they would become accustomed to asking for money for whatever they do even during their normal work time. Therefore, CanDo's projects are conducted within the range of the normal duties of government officers in partnership with the local governments. In cases where CanDo asks for the participation of government officers in its projects, they receive the same treatment as the other participants in the projects: no allowances and no luxuries.

#### *No Acceptance of Offerings from the Community*

"Offering food or drink to visitors is the Kamba tradition of hospitality, and you need to accept it." (Mamy Female 30s: an informal interview in Nuu on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2005). This was, and sometimes still is, the attitude of members of the community towards CanDo staff in Nuu and Mui as well. There have always been some offerings from members of the community or teachers in terms of food or drink at visits to schools or communities. CanDo fully understands that this is part of the traditional local culture of showing hospitality to visitors, but CanDo has taken the policy of not accepting such offerings from any members of the community from the beginning of their activities in the community. Some conflict was initially caused due to this policy and the point was raised that CanDo did not understand African culture,

but, after some years, the attitude of CanDo has been gradually accepted by the community.

This is one of the strategies CanDo takes to maintain a distance from the community and to avoid being involved in a collusive relationship which could easily lead to favours and corruption in the community. People make offerings to other people through showing hospitality, but at the same time, some expect returns for this. In the relationship between CanDo and the community, hospitality is often expected to lead in return to a favour in terms of providing assistance to their villages and schools. Such expectations are not necessarily linked to an intention to seek individual benefits but have a danger to lead to the wrong sort of competition in the community. Normally it is rich people who can afford to make offerings in the expectation of favours. In order to show that the community does not have to provide treats to gain assistance and that what persuades CanDo to assist the community is not treats but the willingness and efforts of the people involved in the projects, all the staff members refuse any offerings from people in the community.

Today I visited health activity groups in Mui with Kyoko, Francis, and Kandali. Mothers were waiting for us at the entrance of their villages. When we started talking, some mothers took four bottles of Fanta out their baskets to offer us. When they tried to open the bottles, Kyoko said to them, “We are not having soda. When we come to you next time, you won’t have to worry about preparing things to welcome us. We don’t need it. We will just come to talk to you”. Soda such as Fanta and Coke is available at the cost of Ksh 15 (US\$0.2) everywhere in Mwingi like other rural areas in Kenya, but it is a luxury for local people. I have never seen women drinking soda in Nuu. They must have done *Harambee* to buy the soda. After leaving the village, I just wondered if they were sharing soda amongst them. Probably not. Maybe they will keep them for another occasion to welcome visitors coming to them. (from field notes on 26 August 2003)

#### 8.4.3. Policies to Build Self-Efficacy in the Community

CanDo began intervention to achieve social development through education as its entrance to the community. As discussed in the section on the characteristics of CanDo’s projects, the main purpose of its training in education does not lie in the transformation of the Kenyan education system or in the content of teaching but in the provision of opportunities for discussions and building consensus amongst people in the community based on the accurate information and knowledge transmitted

through the projects; the idea is that such discussions and consensus lead to people taking their own action to solve their problems at schools or in the community. Therefore, the important element of the projects is whether the projects can build self-efficacy in the community so that people can start their own activities with the minimum assistance from outside. In its efforts to build self-efficacy, CanDo maintains two other policies in the implementation of its projects; no intervention in the content of education, and the use of local knowledge. These policies are further two of the main characteristics of CanDo's operation, which values the initiatives of local people in deciding what to teach to their children as well as to other members of the community.

#### *No Intervention in the Content of Education*

Unlike many other NGO programmes which have been popular in recent years,<sup>198</sup> CanDo does not intervene in the content of education. CanDo has also implemented in-service teacher training, the contents of which are in line with the guidelines and syllabi provided by the Kenyan government. The main focus of CanDo's teacher training is placed on how to make the best use of teachers' own resources in their schools so as to improve their teaching within the framework of the existing formal education system. Within such a framework, CanDo provides opportunities for primary teachers to use their own ingenuity of teaching, which CanDo believes helps to increase the self-efficacy of primary school teachers.

#### *The Use of as much Local Knowledge as Possible*

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<sup>198</sup> For example, School for Life (SFL) in Ghana and Save the Children School in Mali and Ethiopia have programmes to establish community schools where children are taught different curricula to those taught in the government schools and to mainstream those children into the formal school system after some years of education in the community schools. The teacher training in these programmes is normally conducted so that teacher candidates amongst villagers can be trained so as to teach in their community schools. (Molteno *et al.* 2000; Akyeampong 2004)

Knowledge is part of development activities (King and McGrath 2004), and the transfer of knowledge is indispensable to CanDo's projects. The most important factor in knowledge sharing for CanDo is how to use local knowledge in its projects. Not only in the training for teachers and members of the community, but also in classroom construction, information and skills are conveyed from CanDo to members of the community or vice versa through daily practices. In such a transfer of knowledge, local knowledge is considered as the key element in CanDo's projects to initiate autonomous activities by members of the community. This is in marked contrast to King and McGrath's discussions of JICA's Technical Assistance projects which heavily rely on the knowledge of Japanese expertise (King and McGrath 2004). For this purpose, as discussed in Chapter 7, Japanese staff normally only play the role of coordinators. It is Kenyan consultants who transfer knowledge to members of the community based on their local expertise in the Kenyan context, so that people in the community can sustain their activities by utilising their local knowledge which they will have even after CanDo's withdrawal from the community. By utilising "intermediate technology" (Schumacher 1997:129) transferred by Kenyan consultants, not high technology transferred by Japanese staff, CanDo expects the projects to be "the stepping stones of self-help" (Schumacher 1997) to the community's own activities.

In construction projects, classrooms are constructed with materials and knowledge which are locally available. Unlike the classrooms constructed in Japan's ODA, there is no Japanese technology and materials used in CanDo's classroom construction. The advice on construction is given to the community by Kenyan consultants with the expertise which they have acquired in their experience in Kenya as well as in their education in Kenya. The appearance of CanDo's classroom is as humble as other permanent classrooms constructed by parents in the community. I was a little bit surprised with the humbleness. I heard from Nagaoka that CanDo's classrooms are not admirable presents from outsiders but the models to learn with which parents will construct other classrooms in the future, making the best use of their own skills they have acquired through the projects. (From field notes on 20<sup>th</sup> February 2004)

#### 8.4.4. Policies to See the Community

CanDo's efforts to achieve autonomous development are not limited to their activities in the community but extend to the way CanDo's staff work and live in the community. This is because CanDo believes that the way CanDo staff live and work

itself has a strong impact on the relationship with members of the community as well as on an understanding of life in the community. The efforts to reduce dependency on outside assistance and to induce self-help efforts by the community require outsiders to make the effort to see the same reality as members of the community. The policies to see the community underline the importance of the lifestyle of CanDo staff in Mwingi to seeing the community properly.

### *Live Like Community People in the Villages*

CanDo does not own any vehicles, which does not mean CanDo staff do not use vehicles. When necessary, it hires a vehicle in a short period of time for staff who have several school visits located in a place without easy access to public transport or to carry bigger items to the project sites, but in the course of their normal activities, they use public transport to go to Nuu or Mui from Nairobi. CanDo is the single organisation amongst Japanese NGOs in Nairobi which does not own any vehicles. In addition, the two village offices in Nuu and Mui are much the same as other houses in the villages, which are made of bricks without electricity, running water or generators. During weekdays, the staff normally live in local accommodation in the villages to work and go to simple local canteens for their meals. At weekends they return to Nairobi by bus or crowded *Matatu*, local minibus, for preparation, office work, and communication with Tokyo that necessitate the use of computers.

Such a lifestyle by CanDo staff in local villages is very different from that of other people from outside the area, especially that of foreign people and even Kenyans. There are not many outsiders who come into the villages, but still, people who are engaged in development related jobs occasionally come to the villages in big vehicles. Foreigners sporadically stay in the same accommodation as CanDo staff because there is no accommodation for rich foreign people in the villages, but they bring their Kenyan friends with them to cook their meals and normally do not have meals in local canteens.

Once, a villager asked a CanDo staff, “Why don’t you use a generator in your office? I have a generator for a rent. I know you need electricity. In NGO offices in



other places, the inside is like offices in Nairobi. They have everything. If you use my generator, you can use such things in Nuu.” The answer of the Japanese staff was “Sorry, we don’t need it.” (from field notes on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2004)

There are two main reasons for CanDo staff’s lifestyle in the local villages. Firstly, the staff believe their way of living will help them to understand the life and problems of the community. As Schumacher advocated in the late 1960s,<sup>199</sup> CanDo would like to understand what people are doing in the community in order to assist them to take further steps for the development of the community. Secondly, CanDo believes that leading a similar life to that of the community is of help in reducing the level of dependency on the assistance from CanDo in the community. In its projects, CanDo minimises the provision of physical assistance to the community so that it does not ruin self-help activities in the community. If CanDo staff worked in the same surrounding as in Nairobi, it would be very difficult to say “no” to requests from the community. Having the same level of difficulty as members of the community enables the staff to reject demands from the community to maximise the physical assistance provided by CanDo to the community.

#### 8.4.5. The Reaction of the Community towards CanDo’s Policies

For more than nine years, these policies of CanDo have been accepted in the community, probably not yet fully but to some extent with resignation. Such a state of resignation has been reached by the community, especially by the people with power, through some understanding of CanDo’s philosophy and some calculation of communal benefits gained through CanDo’s projects. One of the primary school headteachers in Nuu Division expressed his opinion of CanDo in a short comment as follows:

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<sup>199</sup> Schumacher argued in 1969 that the tasks necessary for health development were as follows;

The first task is to study what people are already doing - and they must be doing something, otherwise they could not exist - and to help them to do it better... The second task is to study what people need and to investigate the possibility of helping them to cover more of their needs out of their own productive efforts. (Schumacher 1997:125)

CanDo is a very small organisation and we cannot expect a lot of things from them. However, CanDo's assistance reaches people, and it is a big thing here in Kenya (David, headteacher of a primary school).<sup>200</sup>

The same kind of comment about CanDo has been repeatedly made by government officers as well. During the visits of JICA and MOFA in the process of their feasibility studies for grants and the monitoring thereafter, the District Education Officer (DEO) in Mwingi expressed his opinion on CanDo to the personnel of JICA and MOFA<sup>201</sup> as follows:.

CanDo is very small with little money. We cannot expect much from CanDo, but we are really happy with their cooperation in the community. The community also appreciates their assistance. We would like to give greatest support to CanDo (DEO Mwingi).

An interesting point raised in the comments of David and the DEO is that both of them mention the smallness of CanDo, acknowledging that they cannot fully expect CanDo to do everything for them in the projects. They understand the limitation of CanDo's assistance and the necessity of their own efforts in participating in CanDo's projects. For JICA personnel, such acknowledgement seemed to be very surprising.

It is incredible to get such a comment from the counterpart under the flag of Japan. We encounter a huge expectation from the counterparts every time. Nobody believes that Japan does not have enough money to respond to their requests in our projects (JICA personnel at courtesy call to DEO on 4 July 2005).

However, these comments do not necessarily mean that members of the community have fully accepted CanDo's policies regarding its projects. There has been a certain level of resistance or challenge from the community in order to try to

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<sup>200</sup> A comment in informal conversation at a village in Nuu on 15 March 2004.

<sup>201</sup> There were in total four courtesy calls by JICA and MOFA in 2003-05. Two calls were made by JICA's Kenya office on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2003 and by a MOFA officer from Japan and JICA personnel on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2003 in the course of decision on the application for the JICA Partnership Programme. The other two calls were made by JICA Kenya on 12 May 2004 and by JICA Tokyo and Kenya on 4 July 2005 during monitoring. The author attended those courtesy calls and the same comment was made by the DEO Mwingi in the course of every call.

maximise their benefits from the projects, and there are differences in the level of acceptance even within the community. The differences of acceptance can be categorised into two levels in the community, namely the acceptance amongst the poorer layer of people and the acceptance amongst people with a certain level of power. The poorer layer of people includes ordinary parents of primary school pupils and mothers, and TBAs, who are the direct beneficiaries of and participants in CanDo's projects and normally have very few opportunities to obtain additional benefits from development projects conducted by donors and the government. For these people, the policies of CanDo seem to be accepted with more ease, and their comments have been extremely positive on CanDo's projects.

The practical environmental activities are vital because both pupils and parents acquired a lot of skills in grafting as well as the planning, growing and caring of trees, flowers and other plants (a parent in Mugangeni P.S. on 30 September 2003).

The interaction between parents and teachers has increased since the classroom construction started. We talked with the teachers about the understaffing of the school and the results of KCPE while working on the construction. At home, children ask us about the construction (parents in Iviani P.S. on 24 September 2003).

The classroom construction required from us a lot of hard work, but we are satisfied with the quality of the classroom (a parent in Kalesi P.S. on 15 July 2003).

The motivation workshop has remembered (sic) us what we forgot about teaching and became a good opportunity to discuss the problem of the school together with parents (a teacher in Syumakethe P.S. on 1 October 2003)

There could be some exaggeration in their comments, but in any case they are the direct beneficiaries of the projects. In classroom construction, for example, material assistance which otherwise they would need to purchase certainly reduces their burden in facility improvement and they can fully utilise CanDo's assistance for the benefit of their children. In the case of the various workshops, if they think they are not worth attending, these people have a choice to be absent. Nobody forces them to attend workshops. The no allowance policy is the hardest for these people to accept and there are still some participants who make requests for a participation allowance. However, when CanDo explains its policy, people accept their place on the training without the allowance. The participation rate is extremely good

especially amongst mothers, TBAs, and ECD teachers, who are not normally given opportunities for training.

In the staff meeting, there was a report from a staff member that a participant asked if any allowances would be paid to them for the participation of the training. This kind of question is sometimes made at the beginning of BHHC training. In such a case, the answer is always no with the explanation of the objectives of the workshop. The staff reported that she told the participants that, if no one can participate in the project without allowances, she could leave the workshop as well. She explains that in every case these days, no one asks for an allowance any further and the attendance to the workshop on the following days is also good. (from field notes on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2004)

On the other hand, the people with a certain level of power in the community include local governmental officers and primary school headteachers who are directly involved in CanDo's projects at the community level and who stay in their positions to be able to enjoy privileges and to obtain additional direct or indirect benefits from development projects. For them, CanDo's policies seem to have been more difficult to accept. There have been many challenges and protests from some of these groups of people insisting on more material support for the projects and on individual allowances. The dissatisfaction with CanDo's policies was sometimes expressed as follows;

CanDo's decision-making in the projects is not accountable for us. We don't know how schools were selected for receiving assistance. If CanDo cannot provide assistance equally to each primary school, it is better for us without CanDo. (The Headteacher of Imwanba P.S. in informal interview on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2003)

CanDo won't listen to our opinions in the projects. (The Headteacher of Kathanze P.S. in a formal interview with JICA personnel on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005)

Abundant assistance from outsiders is a good thing for some people, whether it is indispensable or not. It is better to have more than less, and it might be needed in the future. These people say they are entitled to receive assistance because they are poor. These comments described above were true to some extent but were made against an important background as well. The former school was not chosen as the first priority in the selection of construction projects discussed with the AEO and

TAC tutors.<sup>202</sup> The latter comment was made in front of CanDo's donor at a monitoring visit to the school. Before the visit, CanDo had rejected requests by the headteacher for more material assistance to environmental activities at his school and to the church of which he was the pastor.

The same types of challenges and protests have been observed amongst government officers, especially when new government officers were appointed in the divisions. Some of such government officers, who could not publicly refuse to cooperate with CanDo, caused some hindrances to CanDo conducting their activities smoothly. Such confrontations were solved on each occasion with the support of local leaders, members of the community, or other government officers.

A regional officer, who persistently made indirect requests for an allowance, made an arrangement to set textbook promotion workshop by a publisher on the same date as CanDo's stakeholders' meeting. CanDo's stakeholders' meeting was almost cancelled because most of headteachers were presumed to attend the publisher's workshop for textbook promotion where allowances were to be paid. The problem was solved by DEO making an instruction to the education officer to workout both activities on the same date through an arrangement to direct headteachers to attend the stakeholders' meeting and to send another teacher to the publisher's workshop (from field notes on 20 February 2004).

Even the government officers who refused to work without allowances sometimes changed their attitudes.

The TBA training was conducted in the way CanDo assisted the training to TBAs by Ministry of Health (MOH) Mwingi. The government nurses who were supposed to give some part of facilitation in the workshop refused the attendance to the training without additional allowances from CanDo. With the reconciliation from MOH, the nurses agreed to their attendance to the training as observers. However, as the training proceeded with the facilitation of CanDo consultants, the nurses could not limit their role as observers and became actively engaged in the facilitation of the training on the way. They looked very satisfied with their work after the training (from the internal report of TBA training in June 2005)

In the case above, the enthusiasm of TBAs for training seemingly stimulated the motivation of these nurses to work for the community. In addition to such mutual

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<sup>202</sup> After this comment was reported, CanDo has taken decisions for the selection of schools in the meetings with stakeholders which includes headteachers and chairpersons of all the primary schools, as well as education officers in the target divisions.

interaction amongst local people, CanDo has persistently addressed the importance of local efforts in their own development activities to members of the community including government officers. In 1999 Nagaoka commented on the relationships with government officers as follows;

We often hear the accusation that the administration in Kenya is infested with corruption and does not function well, but we think that the government officers we meet in the project sites can be good partners if we take an appropriate approach in the relationship with them, although they are rich in their personalities (Nagaoka in Newsletter September 1999 No.9) (CanDo 2004).

#### 8.4.6. CanDo's Policies and the roles of Japanese Staff

Compared to other Japanese NGOs, CanDo has a relatively large number of Japanese staff in Kenya. CanDo explains that the reasons for the large number lie in the necessity of flexible and swift planning to reflect local needs soon after those needs arise. In response to the change in local situations, CanDo often changes its planning, which requires detailed reports to donors to ask for permission to change the plan for their funding. As all of CanDo's donors are Japanese organisations, these reports should be made in Japanese. Although Kenyan staff are the main actors in implementation, it is difficult for them to respond to the necessity of creating the Japanese reports.

In addition, Japanese staff play an important role in the practice of CanDo's policies in the community as well. Many of CanDo's policies require the staff to take explicit attitudes towards a range of requests for assistance and offers of food and drink from the community. Both Kenyan and Japanese staff understand the objectives and importance of CanDo's policies. However, the explicit refusal of such requests and offers is normally hard to accept in Kenyan traditions. Kenyan staff often find it more difficult to take such attitudes towards members of the community than Japanese staff because they are more involved in local values and local politics. In such cases, Japanese staff can shoulder the burden of saying no to requests and offers from the community when Kenyan staff have a difficulty in doing so. Some people might suggest that the Kenyans should face and overcome such difficulties when inducing self-help efforts. However, we might not have to be very strict over who should take what roles. Kenyan staff do not necessarily have to play the same

role as Japanese staff do, and vice versa. There are some roles which outsiders can take more easily and other roles which insiders can. Insiders and outsiders can share the roles until the goals are achieved.

### 8.5. The Origins of the Philosophy: Nagaoka

This chapter has looked at the way in which CanDo has been conducting its operations in Mwingi under a robust philosophy and policies to induce self-help efforts in social development by the communities. This philosophy has been established through the efforts and discussions of a range of people who have been and are engaged in CanDo's operation in Mwingi as well as in Tokyo. Each project has been conducted through discussion between Japanese coordinators and Kenyan staff in Nairobi responding to the reactions of the community in Mwingi as well as in consultation with staff in Tokyo. The accumulation of such daily activities has led to the establishment of such a philosophy and policies. However, in tracing the origins of the philosophy of CanDo, we need to look at one person who has been in charge of leading the organisation, supervising the planning of projects and giving advice on problems caused before and after their implementation: Hiroaki Nagaoka.

Nagaoka was one of the founding members of CanDo in 1997 during the dissolution of AEF. He was involved in international cooperation as a volunteer for the Japan International Volunteer Centre (JVC), one of the oldest Japanese NGOs working in international cooperation. After working for a Japanese accountancy firm in venture business in the Philippines and Japan, he has been engaged fully in NGO activities in international cooperation since the late-1980s, starting with afforestation programmes in Mali to emergency relief and rehabilitation for refugees in Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya as well as development projects in education and health in slums in Kenya. Most of his development thinking has been cultivated through the accumulation of these experiences during his career in NGOs working in international cooperation as well as other engagements in research activities for JICA and other organisations. In interviews on the roots of his thinking, Nagaoka points to three major experiences in his career; activities in the desert in Mali, at refugee camps in Tanzania and Uganda and his study of anthropology at Hiroshima

University, which gave him food for thought concerning the question of who defines development for whom.

*Experience in Mali: the use of locally available resources*

Most of my development thinking has probably come from my personal experiences during my engagement in development activities in Japanese NGOs. Firstly, I worked in projects in the desert in Mali, where there was almost no access to anything. Almost nobody came into the communities where we worked. Even if we would like to buy something, there was nothing coming from outside in the market. When we worked in such surroundings, local people often asked for assistance. We understood the difficulties they had. In such cases, as it often happened with NGO people, we tended to answer, “We understood the difficulties and the needs of assistance you ask for, but as we don’t have enough budgets, we cannot respond to your request.” I thought such response was wrong, because if we think that way, it means that they cannot improve their life without monetary assistance from outside. Then, it would be only temporary and such assistance doesn’t lead to the fundamental solution of problems they have. Therefore, we tried to work with local people through improvising things at hand as much as possible so that the local people could do by themselves in the future as well. (Nagaoka from the interview on 15 September 2006)

*Experience in Refugee Camps: the community defined quality life*

Another experience which had a large influence on me is the experience in refugee camps. The assistance to refugee camps is normally conducted under the idea of the minimum standard which is defined in the North. According to the minimum standards, schools, hospitals, and other necessary facilities were prepared, and food, clothes, and other goods were provided to refugees. From the rich countries, the level of assistance would be the minimum from a viewpoint of human rights. However, when we looked at the life in local villages surrounding the camps, we would find the life in the camps was far much better than that in these ordinary villages. According to the statistics I heard, refugees normally went to hospital three times a year in the camps. All the children had their textbooks at school in the camps. People in these villages went to hospital once in a lifetime, maybe. There were not textbooks in village schools. Refugees were encouraged to leave the camps to be independent in their own villages, but it’s almost impossible with such a gap. That created dependency. I thought the quality should be defined by the reality of local situations, not by the standards of outside. (Nagaoka from the interview on 15 September 2006)

*Anthropology: the way to see the community*

I think the fundamental roots of my thinking might come from the study in my university. I had an area study of South Korea. At that time, I didn’t really recognise it, but my supervisors in Hiroshima University were prominent anthropologists in Japan. While doing my study there, I learned the necessity to change the viewpoint when we looked at the society. That is the necessity to see the society from a viewpoint of local people. I have tried to see the projects, what is



needed from a viewpoint of local reality (Nagaoka from the interview on 16 September 2006).

In addition to his experiences in other NGOs, Nagaoka described the interaction with Kenyans as well. Nagaoka added that it is the efforts to seek self-help by Kenyan people that have contributed a great deal to the establishment of CanDo's philosophy.

#### *A Kenyan Leader*

When we started a health project in Mui through the assistance to the self-help group for Mui dispensary, we had a plan to provide materials for its on-going construction project. We met Mr. David Musila, MP from the Mwingi South Constituency, to discuss our plan in Mui. When we were discussing, Mr. Musila asked us to wait for the completion of construction and to let the self-help group do their project by itself for a while. I was so much impressed by his attitudes which put much value on self-help efforts, and his way of thinking has a large influence over our philosophy as well. Since then, I respect Mr. Musila and often tell this story to JICA and Embassy personnel in Kenya and other people. (Nagaoka on 15 September 2006)

### 8.6. Issues and Problems in CanDo's Activities

CanDo has been quite successful in its operation in Kenya against a background in which the Japanese government has provided a range of support to small NGOs through various channels. CanDo has been one of such NGOs which received government funding from different sources such as the JICA Partnership Programme in Technical Assistance of ODA and MOFA funding programmes to NGOs in Grant Aid. These different sources of funding secured CanDo's different projects in three divisions in Mwingi. However, given the trend in which the Japanese government is integrating its ODA decision-making into MOFA and implementation into JICA, NGO funding conducted by different ministries and agencies with different objectives is also expected to be integrated into a single stream. As a result, the number of funding schemes will decrease, and NGOs are likely to have fewer funding opportunities for their activities. This situation would create a critical issue for CanDo which is largely dependent on government funding for its operations, because governmental donors normally do not provide long-term

funding to the same projects by the same organisations from a perspectives of fairness. The cycle of one project in one area would be short due to these reduced funding opportunities.

Furthermore, CanDo requires only a small budget for material assistance (due to its characteristic strategy of inducing self-help efforts by the community), considering the scale of its operation in Mwingi. The cost of activities such as health training for mothers and teacher training in AIDS education is amazingly small, most of which is spent on consultants and Japanese staff. As a result, the budget for personnel costs comprises a large proportion of the expenses of the operation. Such a large proportion of personnel expenses in the operation's budget is normally not positively evaluated. On the contrary, it is considered as not cost-effective, and CanDo faces the possibility of having to contemplate the necessity of reducing personnel expenses, especially for Japanese staff, as other NGOs have. However, Japanese staff play a critically important role in CanDo's policies in reducing the dependency of the local communities and in providing reports to Japanese donors. Therefore, it is crucially important for CanDo to secure a great enough budget for the personnel expenses of its operation.

The easiest solution to these problems would be to increase the independent sources of funding for CanDo's operations, but it is not so easy for a small NGO to increase private donations from Japanese society as was discussed in Chapter 6. How CanDo can secure independent sources of funding is key to whether it can continue the current approach to its operations or not.

## 8.7. Conclusion

This chapter began with the question raised by Sawamura of whether Japanese efforts could induce African self-help efforts in areas where human and financial resources are so limited. The experiences of CanDo have demonstrated Japanese efforts to induce self-help efforts in local communities in very poor areas in Mwingi, Kenya. CanDo has been working together with local communities by providing opportunities for local people to identify problems they have and ways to

solve those problems through discussions and interaction amongst local people. To a certain extent, its efforts have been successful in inducing local efforts to improve the livelihoods of their communities. Such efforts by CanDo may derive from Japanese traditions which emphasise the capability of the community as a group, rather than that of each individual, to solve their problems and to improve their livelihoods. However, what one can learn from CanDo's experiences is not whether the Japanese approach has validity in Africa or not, but how important the efforts and attitudes of assistance providers are to help induce the self-help efforts of local communities. CanDo's efforts to learn about the reality of the local community and to directly face the difficulties in eliminating dependency on outsiders are the keys to its success. These efforts are based on careful research as well as interaction with local people through their strict lifestyle in the community, which have been the greatest advantages of NGOs working at the grassroots.

## **Chapter 9. Small is still Beautiful**

The growing awareness to and acknowledgement of NGOs' activities in international development provided citizens with a range of opportunities to establish organisations to realise their aspirations and ideals to contribute to the improvement in the livelihood of poor people in the South. These aspirations and ideals do not necessarily derive only from pure and benevolent concerns for poor people but also from individuals and institutions pursuing their own objectives and missions. Some people launch an organisation to pursue their religious aspiration, and others to pursue their political ideology through their engagement in development assistance. There are even some people whose objectives in development assistance are to create opportunities for employment or monetary benefits for themselves. Whatever objectives they have, the most important question lies in whether their engagement can contribute to real improvement in the livelihood of those poor people for whom they work. As long as there are some people who agree to support their objectives, and their engagement can lead to social and economic development, the difference in the objectives of NGOs has been accepted and is considered to represent the diversity of NGOs' activities, which has the potential to respond to a range of different needs of local communities.

Around the turn of the century, however, the fundamental question was raised on the effectiveness of NGOs' contributions in international development. The role of Northern NGOs has been of special concern. The comparative advantages of NGOs in their flexibility, innovation, and knowledge of local realities through their direct contact with local communities have not been really denied, but NGOs have been facing a range of critical comments from other points of view. Chief amongst these were the issues of legitimacy, inequitable power-relations between Northern NGOs and Southern NGOs, the imposition of outsiders' views and priorities in

development assistance in their host communities. For Northern NGOs which need to work in different cultures and social conditions from their own, these elemental drawbacks have led many Northern NGOs, especially large international NGOs, to a shift from direct engagement in development assistance to advocacy through applying rights-based approaches and emergency relief assistance, to avoid the criticisms that they are only doing harm in the South and are seeking their survival in international development. In addition, neo-liberal orthodoxy and increased financial support from donor governments towards advocacy and emergency relief, which have been driven by international politics, have substantially encouraged the shift. As a result, more development assistance has been handed over to Southern NGOs or to the affiliate organisations of International NGOs.

The shift has led to the growth of a small number of large international NGOs and a large number of Southern NGOs, and has driven small scale Northern NGOs to the edge of existence; many of these are conventionally engaged in small scale development assistance with local communities. Together with increased funding for advocacy and emergency relief activities by Northern NGOs as well as service delivery by Southern NGOs, many NGOs have been losing their diversity and become implementers or messengers of government projects in line with donor intentions in political intervention in the South. Only a small number of large international NGOs which are successful in appealing to the public to attain enough financial support to be independent from donor governments can sustain their autonomy, ironically with more financial assistance from these donor governments.

With the power to appeal to the public as well as recipient governments, these successful large international NGOs are leaving the grassroots in order to be in the international arena with governments and donor agencies for collaboration. The law of the jungle seemingly controls even the NGO community, in which the powerful gain more power, and these powerful NGOs are caught in the same trap in international development as powerful donor agencies due to their influence which is sometimes on a par with governments. Now these international NGOs are condemned to 'contribute to the weakening of the post-colonial governments' (Nugent 2004:357). Thus, the increased attention towards NGOs surely contributed

to the growth of NGOs in international development but has led many NGOs to lose their direction and abandon their greatest advantages, closeness to local communities, at the same time.

Unlike many Western countries, this shift in NGOs' activities and priorities has not yet taken place in Japan. Most of the prominent Japanese NGOs are still small in their scale and the focus of their activities is still placed on direct development assistance in local communities in the South. Most of these Japanese NGOs are heavily reliant on government funding, and the Japanese government has a great deal of influence over their activities. Such direction of Japanese NGOs is made by the will of Japanese NGOs but made more coincidentally by their smallness and the political aspects of the Japanese government in the historical process of its ODA, which has been the largest diplomatic tool for the relationship with Western countries as well as Southern countries. For the Japanese government which is not interested in democracy assistance in its ODA, NGO advocacy for democratisation is not attractive enough to be provided with assistance. In addition, in the governmental perception of NGOs, many Japanese NGOs are not capable of being cost-effective contractors in its development projects in ODA. Governmental assistance to NGO activities through ODA was stimulated by the international attention on NGOs and has been used as an effective tool to attain public support to ODA. Such a domestic background in Japan still allows small scale NGOs to enjoy their freedom in their engagement in international cooperation with governmental funding with little intervention by the government on the direction of their activities. CanDo is one of such small NGOs which have made the most of these opportunities in order to realise its ideals in development assistance based on Japanese altruism.

An in-depth study of this small Japanese NGO whose philosophy is based on a very Japanese value, supporting self-help efforts, provides a range of insights into the issues concerning the facilitation of self-help efforts by outsiders and the validity of Japanese values in Africa, as well as into the role of small NGOs in development assistance. Can external assistance facilitate self-help efforts? Is it the values of outsiders that encourage local people to make and pay for their own efforts in development assistance? My conclusion is that it is not only the task of local

people paying for their own efforts but that outsiders also need to make enormous efforts to facilitate the self-help efforts of local people. The facilitation of local self-help efforts is not achieved through specific values and approaches but only through efforts to create close interaction and trust between the two parties. Small Northern NGOs have great potential to establish such interaction in order to facilitate self-help efforts at the community level due to their smallness.

### *Various Values on Self-Help Efforts*

As we have seen in this study, people in many parts of the world respects the values on self-help efforts. It is not only Japan which has a long tradition of self-help or mutual-help efforts by people to improve their livelihoods. In Western countries, self-help and mutual-help efforts are also highly evaluated in their society. However, the ideas outside of self-help and mutual-help and the priority might be different by regions or countries.

For example, in a discussion on self-help efforts of homeless people in the US in the 1980s, Rivlin and Imbimbo defined self-help efforts were alternative to the system of social service and argued that one of the disadvantages of self-help efforts lay in its negative influence over the demand of people on the system responsible for services provision. Self-help efforts of people make it easier for the system, normally the government, to ignore its responsibility to provide the service (Rivlin and Imbimbo 1989). In their argument, self-help efforts of people are something to fill the gap between their own demand and provision by the responsible body, that is the governments, and people themselves are not responsible to provide what they need, but an alternative to the responsible body for the provision of service they need. Many Western NGOs, especially large NGOs which are able to be influential to the system, currently put much focus on advocacy and lobbying to make the system function well rather than facilitating self-help efforts of local people. This direction of Western NGOs seemingly supports the argument by Rivlin and Imbimbo.

On the other hand, in the Japanese philosophy, self-help efforts by citizens are not an alternative to the system or the government. Citizens are also responsible

to help provide services according to their demand, and the system would fill the gap between the demand and what people can do on their own. More emphasis is placed on people's collective efforts to improve their livelihoods rather than the provision of service by the system to each individual. Such difference between Western countries and Japan would represent each value on individualism and collectivism. In Japanese society where the word *kojinshugi* for individualism often means selfishness, "*minna issho ni*", "together with everyone" normally implies good sense of cooperation. The idea of self-help efforts in this sense fits what CanDo is practicing in the community in Mwingi. For CanDo, its assistance is not made in order to support local people to voice their demand to the system responsible to provide what each individual needs for himself/herself, but to support local people to provide through their collective efforts with support from the system in the country. This type of supports is often seen in development activities by other Japanese organisations as well

In this sense, Western organisations and Japanese organisations talk different things although both of them put a high value on autonomous development. For Western organisations, the ultimate goal of autonomous development is to realise a society where the government as the responsible body becomes able to provide enough social services for each individual and tries to make the system work with its own efforts. For Japanese organisations, *jiritsuteki hatten*<sup>203</sup>, autonomous development, would mean that people together with the government put their own efforts to improve their livelihoods with more emphasis on collective efforts as a country, a society, or a community. This sense of Japanese self-help efforts could seemingly be more shared with Kenyan '*Harambee*' where collective action is more emphasised than voice for demand to the system.

### *Facilitating Self-Help Efforts*

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<sup>203</sup> *Jiritsuteki hatten* literally means autonomous progress or growth in Japanese. Japanese people have tendency to avoid the word *kaihatsu*, development, because the word has an implication that someone else makes the progress or growth of other. In the actual usage in Japanese language, the word *jiritsuteki*, autonomous, is not attached to *hatten* because progress or growth is normally realised on its own.



An examination on development activities of citizen and the governments in this study has showed us other aspects of self-help efforts. The picture of NGOs in the international society demonstrates a danger that people's collective action can be easily made up and manipulated with a specific intention of the international big powers through funding. The picture of *Harambee* in Kenya also demonstrates us the susceptibility of ordinary people's efforts to improve their livelihoods to local and national politics. The picture of the Japanese government also presents an example that supporting self-help efforts could be used as a kind of excuse to hide other intentions. Thus, facilitating self-help efforts of citizens does not necessarily produce good results to those people who paid efforts, especially when it is conducted at a larger scale. Even if intention was well made for those people, supports to self-help efforts of local people at the grassroots can be exploitative for those people involved in international development.

In general, the facilitation of self-help efforts in international development assistance is often measured by the degree of commitment of the aid recipients (Akyeampong 2004). It is local people who make the effort to create initiatives to conduct their projects. The role of assistance providers lies in making arrangements to establish the mechanism through which to hand over the responsibilities for the projects to local people through cost-sharing and involving local people in decision-making. The success of self-help efforts is sometimes wrongly evaluated by the amount of efforts local people put into the project when local self-help efforts are discussed. However, requests for local contributions have a danger of ending up only exploiting local efforts, as seen in the *Harambee* School Movement in Kenya, if it is not properly done.

The experience of CanDo suggests that facilitating local self-help efforts requires effort by the assistance providers as well. In the case of CanDo, these include efforts by the assistant providers to see the reality of life in the community, to behave considerately towards the community, and to say 'no' to unnecessary requests in order to eliminate too great an expectation and dependency on the assistance by the community. Such efforts of CanDo match Ellerman's principles for

autonomy-respecting development outlined in his writing on autonomous development (Ellerman 2006).

More specifically, CanDo's support is given to existing schools and local systems and requires a certain level of contributions from the community to participate in CanDo's projects. The contributions are made in the local communal help tradition and in such various forms as cash, labour, and materials to which local people have easy access in their daily life in the community. Such contributions are requested based on the research of the local situation and confirmed through discussions with local people. It is not unusual that local people try to negotiate more than their minimum need of assistance in these discussions. In such cases, efforts are required of CanDo to say 'no' and to explain the refusal of local requests for even tiny amounts of extra assistance, which are sometimes as little as \$10 in total. Such refusal often requires CanDo to share the same sense of the values of money as local people, which is attained through efforts to experience a similar level of lifestyle as that of factors of local people.

Therefore, the important factors in facilitating local self-help efforts through CanDo's projects lie not in the degree of the efforts by local people pay to their projects but in whether local people do what they can on their own. It is crucial for local people to sustain the projects on their own when CanDo withdraws from the projects sites. It is not only efforts for attracting assistance but efforts for the improvement of their own situation that have to be continued until their objectives are realised. This is the fundamental element of what Ellerman calls "autonomy-respecting development", and the ultimate objective in the support of self-help efforts by CanDo.

### *The Role of Outsiders*

How can outsiders help people to help themselves? This is the question which Ellerman addressed as "the fundamental conundrum of development assistance" (Ellerman 2003:174). The issue of outsiders' role is a fundamental question in international development, and there is no clear answer to the question

yet. However, as Ellerman claims, ‘there are ways in which development assistance can be genuinely helpful’ (Ellerman 2006: 248). The way CanDo facilitates self-help efforts by the local community presents us with an example of the helpful role and difficulties faced by outsiders in development assistance in a more concrete form.

Local people have a great advantage in local knowledge and local needs. They know the most appropriate way to conduct development projects according to the priorities of local communities. However, they have disadvantages in being more susceptible to local politics. The critical questions in development assistance are whose needs should be prioritised and how much assistance should be provided in order to avoid hampering local self-help efforts. As the experience of CanDo, as well as the *Harambee* School Movement showed clearly, the priorities of people with more power in the community are often taken more account of in development assistance and it is very difficult for the poorer layer of community people even to voice their needs unless they are empowered. In such cases in which these people are empowered, it is very much easier for outsiders to arrange opportunities for that poorer layer of community people to attain necessary information and to participate in discussions for decision-making concerning development projects in the community.

Outsiders often have greater advantages in facilitating self-help efforts than local people in situations where people are poor and dependency on assistance is widespread. For many local people, it is not so easy to make decisions to reduce the amount of assistance from outside, as they know the hardship suffered by local people and maximising the assistance from outside is normally considered good for the community. As a result, it is common for insiders to request and approve more assistance than they can sustain by themselves, which does not lead to confidence in assistance of local people and makes for a vicious circle of dependency. It is only when the projects are truly vital and when local people understand the importance of sustainability of the projects that they agree with a reduction in the amount of external assistance.

Outsiders, on the other hand, especially foreigners, can question more easily the requests for extra assistance and suggest rejection according to the situation of

local communities. Such rejection often creates friction with local communities as well as with local authorities, which is more difficult for local staff to deal with because they often share similar values to members of the community and are more easily involved in the power relations of the community than foreigners. In such stages of development assistance, the role of external staff is still important in order to reduce the degree of dependency on external assistance.

### *Bringing Japanese Values into the Community*

Bringing different values and priorities to those of local people might itself not be of special concern. The denial of means of bringing different values and priorities into host communities could easily lead to the confirmation of the community's present situation, which would hinder changes taking place in the community. Problem would be caused by the imposition of different values and priorities without paying vigilant attention to the local contexts and unequal attitudes towards the host community. On an equal footing to local people, bringing different values and priorities into the community could provide local people with opportunities to view their values and priorities from different aspects. Such opportunities could be valuable to their decision-making concerning their projects for change.

When one asks if CanDo has been bringing Japanese values into the community in its projects in Mwingi, for example, the answer to the question will be affirmative. The focus on local self-help efforts is based on a value which has taken root in Japanese culture. That value is not totally welcomed by local people. At first, there are quite a few local people who would appreciate more assistance without paying for their efforts themselves. However, the approach which emphasises local self-help efforts combined with the tradition of *Harambee* in Kenya and has been constructed in the local context with careful research of local situations and through trial and error together with the local community. It takes a long time for the approach to take root in the community, but there are a good number of local people who show their understanding of the importance of the approach.

### *The Role of Small Organisations*

These close relationships and interactions with local communities are what large aid agencies would find extremely difficult to attain because of their distance from the community. It is the main field of small organisations to construct such relationships with local people. Correspondingly, much of the success of CanDo in facilitating self-help efforts by the community relies on the smallness of its scale of activities. Due to its smallness, CanDo can concentrate its activities on limited geographical areas, which has enabled CanDo to make narrowly local context oriented planning from a wide range of perspectives. Staying in a geographically restricted environment for the long term has equipped CanDo with knowledge of the culture, traditions, and attitudes of local people, which is of great help in constructing interaction and trust between CanDo and local people so as to find better ways of bringing constructive changes into the local communities. Finding local people who agree with the philosophy which emphasises the importance of local self-help is only possible when such close and long-term interaction and trust is constructed with local people.

Furthermore, the size of aid agencies and NGOs does not correspond to the scale of their projects at the grassroots or guarantee the impact which projects can expect to have on the community. Things look different from different positions. The projects of large aid agencies such as the World Bank are overwhelmingly large when they are looked at from the international or national level, but for local people at the community level, especially those who do not have access to the media, the projects of such small organisations as CanDo are sometimes larger due to the difference in organisational commitment to the community. The classroom construction projects supported by large donor agencies after FPE, for example, were allocated to four primary schools in Nu, but CanDo supported 25 primary schools in the division during the same period. Only one or two ECD teachers in Nu and Mui were able to receive in-service training conducted with the support from the World Bank, while all the ECD teachers were invited to the same type of in-service teacher training conducted through the support of CanDo in the same division in the same

year. For AIDS education, only one primary school teacher from Nuuk Division was able to participate in teacher training offered by DFID.<sup>204</sup> CanDo conducted several workshops for teachers during term-time and school holidays. Normally, two teachers from one school are invited to term-time workshops and all the teachers are eligible to apply to participate in workshop during the school holidays.

Those teachers who are trained through donor supported projects are expected to convey the information to other teachers in the division as key resource teachers, but they normally find it extremely difficult to fulfil their duty due to the inconvenience of transportation. The training provided by CanDo can also provide opportunities for these key resource teachers who are trained through the projects by the World Bank and other donors to take leadership in ECD and primary schools in the divisions. There is no direct dialogue between such donor agencies and CanDo, but cooperation between them is achieved through these key resource teachers and careful consultation with local governments.

Nation wide planning has a large impact when a change occurs, but such change only occurs when local people in the community work on it seriously. In this sense, the impact of smaller organisations which concentrate their work on limited geographical areas could surpass that of large aid agencies. Thus, there are different roles for large organisations and small organisations to play in order to support people to work for change. These different roles can be complementary to each other but can hardly substitute for each other. Some roles are more effectively played by large organisations and others by small organisations. It is important for both types of organisations to coexist so that their activities have synergetic effects rather than compete with each other.

### *Concluding Remarks*

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<sup>204</sup> The workshops were held within the framework of Strengthening Primary Education Programme (SPRED). The workshops were not specifically for AIDS education, but AIDS education was dealt in the workshop for guidance and counselling.

The findings of this study include not only the answer to the question raised by Sawamura of whether Japanese values concerning self-help efforts would work in Africa (Sawamura 2004), but also the answers to more fundamental questions on the *raison d'être* of small Northern NGOs as well as of outsiders' intervention in development assistance. Certainly, self-help efforts by local communities have been facilitated by a small Japanese NGO which emphasises the importance of local self-help. However, the conclusions drawn from the study do not suggest that Japanese values simply work in Africa, the values and culture of which are very different to those of Japan, or that the Japanese approach to international development fits within African culture. Rather, the study has concluded that Japanese values emphasising self-help efforts by local people work well only when combined with long term efforts by the NGO as well as by local people. Such efforts include endeavouring to understand the local reality, making plans in the local context, and persistently providing local people with opportunities to discuss how they could work on problems on their own. Due to such efforts put in by the staff, CanDo has been successful in facilitating a certain level of local self-help efforts.

Therefore, one of the most critical implications of the findings of the study is that there is no sovereign remedy for the issues of autonomous development and dependency and that the only helpful solution to the problems caused by these issues is to work and think together with effort by both aid providers and recipients. Although CanDo and the Japanese government share the same philosophy based on Japanese culture, the greatest difference between the two in international cooperation in Africa lies in the fact that CanDo has been pursuing planning which most comfortably fits in the local context while the Japanese government has been trying to adapt its experience in Asia to its development assistance activities in Africa. The question was raised in Chapter 1 that if the Japanese government has a strong desire to learn from the experiences of Japanese NGOs to improve its ODA in Africa, the most vital lesson provided by CanDo is that the Japanese government should make its largest efforts to learn about Africa through the interaction with African people rather than sticking to their experiences in Asia. Development assistance in different

places creates different contexts which donor agencies need to take seriously to ensure the effectiveness of their development assistance.

This study has also identified that small NGOs have a greater potential to reduce dependency and to have relationships that are more equal with local community. For small NGOs, it is comparatively easy to have such relationships with local communities, compared to aid agencies and large international NGOs, due to their smallness. CanDo is not unique as a small NGO which undertakes good practices in international development. There have been many good practices by small NGOs as well as community organisations, the projects of which have been conducted within the local context that they work in such as the Jeanes School in Kenya (King 1971a) and the Parents and Children Programme in Chile (Richards 1985). Many of these good practices by small organisations in public have been treated as pilot projects to be taken over by aid agencies if they are evaluated as good enough. However, in many cases, it is often very difficult for these small organisations to sustain their good practices due to the problems of securing funding after the funding for pilot projects is over. For the same reason, it is also difficult for them to “scale up” projects that have proved successful in a small area.

The value of projects by small organisations could continue to exist outside of large scale governmental projects or programmes. History shows that many of such pilot projects by small organisations have not worked well when they are taken over by governments and aid agencies, even if they were examples of good practice when conducted by smaller organisations, as happened with the village polytechnics launched by the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) in the 1960s in Kenya.<sup>205</sup> If these good practices are abandoned because they are only experiments and do not fit into wider governmental schemes or because of the failure by governments, it is an enormous loss to the experiences of international development.

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<sup>205</sup> NCCCK is one of the greatest NGOs in Kenya, but most of the projects on VPs were conducted local community based organisations with the consultancy from NCCCK. (See Chapter 4).



As in the case of CanDo, there are many other informative projects of small NGOs should be shared with the international development community. However, most of the research on projects by NGOs is concerned with those of international NGOs and the research on the activities of small NGOs, especially those from the North is very limited. If international development is not to be monopolised by governments and if NGOs are also to be key players, the activities of small organisations which comprise the majority of NGOs should be shared and studied for the future of international development, as well as in order to seek ways in which both public and private development assistance can have synergetic effects on each other. In this time of crisis for small NGOs, especially, the study proposes the necessity of knowing more about small NGOs and their projects, which could have rich potential in international development. The study strongly hopes that the case in which CanDo could be one of many cases of small NGOs' experiences are shared in order to be of help for the future of Africa as well as for other parts of the world.

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## **Appendix 1. Pictures of CanDo's Projects and their Sites**

### **1. School and Livelihood in Nuu and Mui**

**Figure 13. Students of Std 8 and Ordinary Classrooms in Muangeni PS**



Source: Taken by the author at Muangeni Primary School on 2 July 2003

**Figure 14. A Lesson for Students of Std 3 in Nzia PS**



Source: Taken by the author at Nzia Primary School on 7 July 2005



**Figure 15. Livelihood in a Village in Nuu**



Source: Taken by the author at Nzia Primary School on 28 July 2005

## **2. CanDo Projects**

**Figure 16. Instructions to the Parents on Materials for Construction by CanDo Staff**



Source: Taken by the author at Kavuti Primary School on 10 May 2004

**Figure 17. Classroom Construction by Local *Fundi* and the Parents (1)**



Source: Taken by the author at Kawelu Primary School on 2 August 2003

**Figure 18. Classroom Construction by Local *Funidi* and the Parents (2)**



Source: Taken by the author at Kawelu Primary School on 2 August 2003



**Figure 19. A Classroom built by the Parents in CanDo's Project in 2000**



Source: Taken by the author at Kavindu Primary School on 23 July 2003

**Figure 20. Discussion among teachers and parents at CanDo's Workshop for Motivation in the Classroom in Figure 19.**



Source: Taken by the author at Kavindu Primary School on 23 July 2003

**Figure 21. A Lesson for Std 8 in the Classroom built in a CanDo's Project at Nuu PS**



Source: Taken by the author at Nuu Primary School on 2 August 2003

**Figure 22. A CanDo Consultant and School Based AIDS Workshop at Ngaa PS**



Source: Taken by the author at Ngaa Primary School on 6 July 2005



**Figure 23. School Based Motivation Workshop at Ngueni PS:<sup>206</sup>the Teachers**

Source: Taken by the author at Ngueni Primary School on 17 July 2003



**Figure 24. School Based Motivation Workshop at Ngueni P (2): Discussion with the Parents and the Teachers**



Source: Taken by the author at Ngueni Primary School on 17 July 2003

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<sup>206</sup> Ngueni has the smallest school in Nuu division, with 56 pupils for the enrolment in July 2003. The school was established in 1997 and is located in the mountain 28km away from Nuu town. Only three teachers for seven streams were posted to the school by TSC, the number of parents of the pupils in the school in 2003 was 28 by the record of the school.

**Figure 25. Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Kavindu Cluster**



Source: Taken by the author at Kavindu Primary School on 20 July 2005

### **3. Grant Aid for Grassroots Projects by the Japanese Government in Kisumu.**

**Figure 26. Classrooms Constructed by a Project funded by MOFA at Magoon PS**



Source: Taken by the author at Magoon Primary School on 18 September 2003

## Appendix 2. The Summary of Field Work

### School Visit and Interviews with Primary School Teachers

| Date       |  | Place |
|------------|--|-------|
| 24/06/2003 | Visit to Kalesi P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 25/06/2003 | Visit to Imwamba P.S.                                  | Nuu   |
| 26/06/2003 | Interview with HT at Muangeni P.S.                     | Nuu   |
| 02/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Muangeni P.S.   | Nuu   |
| 02/07/2003 | Interview with HT at Muangeni P.S.                     | Nuu   |
| 03/07/2003 | Visit to Kaombe P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 04/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Kalesi P.S.     | Nuu   |
| 04/07/2003 | Interview with HT at Kalesi P.S.                       | Nuu   |
| 09/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Imwamba P.S.    | Nuu   |
| 10/07/2003 | Visit to Kaombe P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 10/07/2003 | Visit to Kavindu P.S.                                  | Nuu   |
| 16/07/2003 | Visit to Mutyangome P.S.                               | Nuu   |
| 22/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Kaombe P.S.     | Nuu   |
| 29/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Mutyangome P.S. | Nuu   |
| 29/07/2003 | Visit to Muangeni P.S.                                 | Nuu   |
| 02/08/2003 | Visit to Kawelu P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 22/09/2003 | Interview with Teachers at Tuvaani P.S.                | Nuu   |
| 01/10/2003 | Interview with Teachers at Syumakethe P.S.             | Nuu   |
| 06/05/2004 | Visit to NuU Special Unit                              | Nuu   |
| 10/05/2004 | Visit to Mwanbiu P.S.                                  | Nuu   |
| 10/05/2004 | Visit to Kavuti P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 11/05/2004 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Nyaani P.S.     | Nuu   |
| 11/05/2004 | Visit to Mbia P.S.                                     | Nuu   |
| 12/05/2004 | Visit to Kaombe P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 12/05/2004 | Visit to Mutyangome P.S.                               | Nuu   |
| 18/05/2004 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at Nzanzu P.S.     | Nuu   |
| 19/05/2004 | Focus Group Interview with Teachers at NuU P.S.        | Nuu   |
| 19/05/2004 | Visit to NuU Special Unit                              | Nuu   |
| 16/06/2004 | Visit to NuU P.S.                                      | Nuu   |
| 17/06/2004 | Visit to Tuvaani P.S.                                  | Nuu   |
| 18/06/2004 | Visit to Mutulu P.S.                                   | Nuu   |
| 18/06/2004 | Visit to Kathanthe P.S.                                | Nuu   |
| 18/06/2004 | Visit to Kavindu P.S.                                  | Nuu   |
| 18/06/2004 | Visit to Mutyangome P.S.                               | Nuu   |
| 24/06/2004 | Visit to Mutyangome P.S.                               | Nuu   |



### Interviews with Community People

| Date       |   | Place  |
|------------|---|--------|
| 15/07/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Parents at Kalesi P.S.         | Nuu    |
| 01/08/2003 | Focus Group Interview with Parents at Kombe P.S.          | Nuu    |
| 26/08/2003 | Health Group Visits in Mui                                | Mui    |
| 27/08/2003 | Health Group Visits in Mui                                | Mui    |
| 28/08/2003 | Health Group Visits in Mui                                | Mui    |
| 23/09/2003 | Interview with Parents in Tuvaani P.S.                    | Nuu    |
| 24/09/2003 | Interview with the SMC at Iviani P.S.                     | Nuu    |
| 30/09/2003 | Interview in Baraza at Muangeni Village                   | Nuu    |
| 01/10/2003 | Interview with Parents in Symakethe P.S.                  | Nuu    |
| 02/10/2003 | Interview with the SMC and other Parents at Nu P.S.       | Nuu    |
| 10/02/2004 | Leaders' Meeting in Nu                                    | Nuu    |
| 20/02/2004 | Stakeholders' Meeting for Feedback of Evaluation Research | Nuu    |
| 27/02/2004 | Stakeholders' Meeting for Feedback of Evaluation Research | Mwingi |
| 11/05/2004 | Focus Group Interview at Nyaani P.S.                      | Nuu    |
| 01/07/2004 | Attendance to Baraza at Nu Town                           | Nuu    |
| 02/07/2004 | Interview with Nu Tei Self-Help Group                     | Nuu    |

### Meeting Local Administration Officers

| Date       |   | Place  |
|------------|---|--------|
| 25/06/2003 | Meeting Mr.Mulu at Nu Area Education Office | Nuu    |
| 03/07/2003 | Meeting Mr.Mulu at Nu Area Education Office | Nuu    |
| 28/07/2003 | Visit to DO in Nguni Division               | Mwingi |
| 09/07/2003 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 16/07/2003 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 28/07/2003 | Visits to DC, DO1 in Mwingi District        | Mwingi |
| 29/07/2003 | Visits to Chiefs' Offices                   | Nuu    |
| 16/10/2003 | Interview with TAC tutor Nu                 | Nuu    |
| 03/03/2004 | Visit to District Education Office Mwingi   | Mwingi |
| 06/05/2004 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 12/05/2004 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 19/05/2004 | Visit to Nu Health Office                   | Nuu    |
| 20/05/2004 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 02/06/2004 | Visit to District Education Office Mwingi   | Mwingi |
| 16/06/2004 | Visit to Nu Area Education Office           | Nuu    |
| 17/06/2004 | Visit to MOH Mwingi                         | Mwingi |

### Participant Observation in Workshops by CanDo

| Date       |  | Place |
|------------|--|-------|
| 10/07/2003 | Teachers' Workshop for Motivation at Kaai P.S.         | Nuu   |
| 17/07/2003 | Teachers' Workshop for Motivation at Nguueni P.S.      | Nuu   |
| 23/07/2003 | Teachers' Workshop for Motivation at Kavindu P.S.      | Nuu   |
| 24/07/2003 | Basic Household Health Care Training at Kateiko        | Mui   |
| 30/07/2003 | Basic Household Health Care Training at Kathonzweni    | Mui   |
| 01/09/2003 | Basic Household Health Care Training at Kateiko        | Mui   |
| 02/09/2003 | Basic Household Health Care Training at Kateiko        | Mui   |
| 01/03/2004 | Teachers' Workshop on Environment at Kavindu Sub-zone  | Nuu   |
| 02/03/2004 | Teachers' Workshop on Environment at NuU Sub-zone      | Nuu   |
| 13/06/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at Mui Zone       | Mui   |
| 14/06/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at Mui Zone       | Mui   |
| 16/06/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at Kavindu Sub-zc | Nuu   |
| 17/06/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at NuU Sub-zone   | Nuu   |
| 30/06/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at Kavindu Sub-zc | Nuu   |
| 01/07/2005 | Teachers' Workshop on AIDS Education at NuU Sub-zone   | Nuu   |
| 06/07/2005 | School Based AIDS Workshop on HIV/AIDS at Ngaa P.S.    | Mui   |
| 20/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Kavindu Cluster    | Nuu   |
| 21/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Mwambiu Cluster    | Nuu   |
| 22/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in NuU Cluster        | Nuu   |
| 27/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Nyaani Cluster     | Nuu   |
| 28/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Kathanse Cluster   | Nuu   |
| 29/07/2005 | Pupils' Presentation on HIV/AIDS in Mutyangome Cluster | Nuu   |

### Visit to Japanese NGO related Programmes

| Date       |  | Place     |
|------------|--|-----------|
| 27/06/2003 | ODA-NGO Meeting at the JICA Kenya Office | Nairobi   |
| 16/08/2003 | Visit to Matomaini Children's Home       | Nairobi   |
| 19/08/2003 | Visit to Saidia Furaha                   | Kitengera |
| 20/08/2003 | Visit to Saidia Furaha                   | Kitengera |
| 21/08/2003 | Visit to Saidia Furaha                   | Kitengera |
| 09/10/2003 | ODA-NGO Visit to Moyo Children Centre    | Thika     |
| 10/10/2003 | ODA-NGO Visit to CanDo Projects          | Nuu       |
| 24/02/2004 | ODA-NGO Meeting at the JICA Kenya Office | Nairobi   |
| 05/03/2004 | ODA-NGO Visit to IMCU                    | Nairobi   |
| 23/04/2004 | ODA-NGO Meeting at the JICA Kenya Office | Nairobi   |
| 03/05/2004 | Visit to AMDA                            | Kibera    |
| 28/05/2004 | ODA-NGO Meeting at the JICA Kenya Office | Nairobi   |
| 26/06/2004 | Visit to Future Kids Project             | Nairobi   |

### **Visit to Education Projects by JICA**

| <b>Date</b> |   | <b>Place</b> |
|-------------|---|--------------|
| 30/05/2003  | Visit to SMASSE Office                              | Nairobi      |
| 20/06/2003  | Visit to SMASSE Forum                               | Nairobi      |
| 07/08/2003  | Visit to African Insititute of Capacity Development | Juja         |

### **Visit to Projects in Grant Aid for Grassroots Programme by MOFA**

| <b>Date</b> |  | <b>Place</b> |
|-------------|--|--------------|
| 18/09/2003  | Visit to Glassroom Construction Project at Mogoon P.S.   | Kisumu       |
| 09/10/2003  | Visit to Glassroom Construction Project at Kyondoni P.S. | Kitui        |
| 14/02/2004  | Visit to Glassroom Construction Project at Gulanze P.S.  | Mombasa      |
| 16/02/2004  | Visit to Glassroom Construction Project at Gulanze P.S.  | Mombasa      |
| 17/02/2004  | Visit to Glassroom Construction Project at Idsowe P.S.   | Mombasa      |
| 25/05/2004  | Visit to the Japanese Embassy Kenya                      | Nairobi      |

### Appendix 3. The Summary of Interviews

#### Interviews in Primary Schools and the Communities for the Study

| Interviewees         | Date    | Total | Composition |    |     |            | Parents |        |
|----------------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|-----|------------|---------|--------|
|                      |         |       | ECD         | HT | DHT | class<br>T |         |        |
| Nuu                  | 10/9/03 | 10    |             | 1  | 1   | 7          | 1       | FG     |
|                      | 11/9/03 | 1     |             |    |     |            | 1       | InI    |
| Muangeni             | 2/7/03  | 1     |             | 1  |     |            |         | InI    |
|                      | 11/9/03 | 4     |             |    | 1   | 3          |         | FG     |
|                      | 30/9/03 | 49    |             | 1  |     |            | 48      | Baraza |
|                      | 2/7/03  | 7     | 2           | 1  |     | 4          |         | FG     |
| Mutulu               | 10/9/03 | 4     |             | 1  | 1   | 1          | 1       | FG     |
| Kaai                 | 11/9/03 | 9     |             |    |     | 7          | 2       | GI     |
| Mwambiu              | 10/9/03 | 3     |             | 1  |     | 2          |         | FG     |
| Tuvaani              | 12/9/03 | 10    |             | 1  | 1   | 6          | 2       | FG     |
| Tuvaani .            | 23/9/03 | 4     |             |    |     |            | 4       | InI    |
|                      | 23/9/03 | 15    |             | 1  |     |            | 14      | SCM    |
| Imwamba              | 9/7/03  | 1     |             |    | 1   |            |         | InI    |
|                      | 9/7/03  | 7     | 1           |    | 1   | 5          |         | FG     |
| Kaombe               | 22/7/03 | 2     |             | 1  | 1   |            |         | InI    |
|                      | 22/7/03 | 5     |             |    |     | 5          |         | FG     |
| Kalesi               | 2/8/03  | 42    |             |    |     |            | 42      | GM     |
|                      | 4/7/03  | 2     |             | 1  | 1   |            |         | InI    |
|                      | 4/7/03  | 4     | 1           |    |     | 3          |         | FG     |
|                      | 15/7/03 | 35    |             |    |     |            | 35      | GM     |
| Mutyangome           | 29/7/03 | 2     |             | 1  | 1   |            |         | InI    |
|                      | 29/7/03 | 8     | 1           | 1  | 1   | 5          |         | FG     |
| Kawelu               | 2/10/03 | 4     |             | 1  | 1   | 2          |         | InI    |
|                      | 2/10/03 | 5     |             |    |     |            | 5       | InI    |
| Syumakethe           | 1/10/03 | 3     |             | 1  | 1   | 1          | 3       | InI    |
|                      | 1/10/03 | 6     |             |    |     |            | 6       | InI    |
| Iviani               | 24/9/03 | 9     |             | 1  |     |            | 8       | SCM    |
| Education<br>Officer | 7/10/03 | 1     |             |    |     |            |         |        |
|                      |         | 253   | 5           | 15 | 12  | 51         | 172     |        |

FG: Focus Group Interview

InI: Individual Interview

GI: Group Interview

GM: Group Interview in Parents General Meeting

SCM: Group Interview in School Committee Meeting

Baraza: Group Interview in a village meeting

## The List of Collaborators for the Study (Japanese NGO Related)

### CanDo

|                    |                 |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Antony Wainaina    |                 | Martin Lilia       | (former staff)  |
| Daniel Mutati      |                 | Michiyama, Megumi  |                 |
| Evans Karangau     |                 | Miki, Natsuki      |                 |
| Francis Kaleli     |                 | Mitsui, Ayako      |                 |
| Fujime, Haruko     | (former staff)  | Nagaoka, Hiroaki   |                 |
| Ishii, Yuko        |                 | Nogi, Misako       | (former staff)  |
| Jafes Mukunga      | (former staff)  | Robert Syengo      |                 |
| Kakumen, Masatoshi | (former intern) | Sakuma, Ryu        | (former intern) |
| Kandali Mulonzya   |                 | Shimamoto, Kyoko   | (former staff)  |
| Kawasia Nzovi      |                 | Takaki, Kayoko     |                 |
| Kunieda, Nobuhiro  | (former staff)  | Watanabe, Hiroyuki | (former intern) |
| Margarete Mutunga  |                 | Yamawaki, Katsuko  |                 |

### Other Japanese NGOs and JICA

|                    |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Arakawa, Katsumi   | Saidia Furaha                       |
| Hijikata, Akira    | Mikono International                |
| Ishikawa, Kazuhiro | Future Kids Projects                |
| Kambe, Shunpei     | Africa Shunpei Kembe Fellowship     |
| Kikumoto, Teruko   | Matomai Children's Home             |
| Kishida, Nobutaka  | Friends Society for Kenyan Children |
| Konno, Seiji       | AAR Japan                           |
| Matsushita, Terumi | Moyo Children Center                |
| Miyata, Hisaya     | IMCU                                |
| Nishikawa, Yosuke  | African Children Education Fund     |
| Tokuoka, Yuka      | AMDA                                |
| Kenmiya, Misa      | JICA Kenya                          |
| Muto, Ako          | AICAD, JICA                         |
| Nambu, Ryoichi     | JICA                                |
| Bernard Njuguna    | SMASSE, JICA                        |
| Sugiyama, Takahiko | SMASSE, JICA                        |

## Appendix 4. Documentation to Area Education Officers for the Research

### The Summary of Research

Yuki Nakamura

#### 1. Objectives

The primary objective of this evaluation of the project is to assess the effects of the projects to have improvement of the projects by CanDo. Although the original objective of this assessment is mainly for CanDo to improve its projects, its great use will be that project participants such as teachers, head-teachers and the people in the communities as well as CanDo staffs are able to assess the degree of improvement in their schools through in-service teacher trainings to improve their situation at school. As Moloney says, I would like to consider this evaluation survey as an opportunity to enable all the stakeholders to attain new knowledge about their situation and about the changes needed, and at the same time empowering them to manage such change [Moloney 1999].

#### 2. Methodology

In this evaluation research, I would like to put main focus on especially collecting qualitative data with the intent of using the focus groups in order to know what people really think and feel.

To support the focus group interviews, other methods also would be used as long as the time constraint allows.

##### 1. Focus group and possible one-on-one interviews

The focus group interviews would be the main research method in this evaluation. One-on-one interviews with education officers and other stakeholders could be conducted with necessity.

Schools where the focus group interviews are conducted will be selected among schools which participated in the school-based teacher workshops of motivation. The survey will be conducted mainly with teachers and parents who have participated in the workshops and the participation of the teachers who never have the workshops would be considered to make a comparison on the difference of the attitudes towards their teaching activities and environments.

#### Target Audience in Focus Groups

|            |   | Number of Groups (O = 1 group) |   |   |
|------------|---|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Audience 1 | (teachers, having a workshop with parents in 2001)    | O                              | O |   |
|            | (teachers, having a workshop without parents in 2002) | O                              | O |   |
| Audience 2 | (parents)   | O                              | O | O |
| Audience 3 | (CanDo staff)   | O                              |   |   |

Additional focus groups would be undertaken according to the situation, especially if the time constraint allows, additional focus groups will be conducted with each group in Audience 1.

#### One-on-one Interviews

Audience 1 (Education Officers who participated in the workshops)

Audience 2 (Head-teachers who participated in the workshops)

#### 2. Classroom and teachers' workshop participant-observations

Classroom observations will be conducted after grasping what is happening in the classroom through discussions and interviews to assure the situation which teachers describe and also to analyse unforeseen issues in the classroom. This classroom observation is preferably made with other teachers in the same school to share common perception of the reality, but only by the request from the teachers.

#### 3. Venue

The selected schools so far.

K P. S. (Kavindu) for the focus group of the classroom teachers

H P. S. (Nuu) for the focus groups of the classroom teachers

B P.S. (Nuu) for the focus groups of the classroom teachers and the parents

The focus groups of head-teachers both in Nuu and Kavindu zones are planned to be discussed with the education officer and will be determined in detail.

#### 4. Schedule

##### June

Week 4 Visiting Primary Schools for arrangements

##### July

Week 1 Conducting focus group interviews

Week 2 Conducting focus group interviews and classroom observations

Week 3 Conducting one-by-one interviews with the education officers and pre-primary school teachers

Week 4 Conducting Focus Group Interviews of the Parents

##### August

Week 1 Conducting Focus Group Interviews of the Parents

Week 2 Spare week for Data collection

Week 3 Spare week for Data collection

Week 4     Data deduction

September

Week 1     Data deduction

Week 2     Data deduction

Week 3     Conducting Focus Group Interviews with teachers if necessary

Week 4     Conducting Focus Group Interviews with teachers if necessary

#### 5. Expected outcomes or benefits

This evaluation will allow us to obtain data for assessing the degree of improvement of the situation in the schools through the teachers' workshops of motivation. Finding the degree of improvement through the workshops in the classroom and relationship with parents as well as the current problems and issues teachers and parents have on the ground would give CanDo some clearer ideas on what role the teacher workshops should play in the school community and be of help to set up future activities in its projects in the area.

#### 6. Feedback

The evaluation report would be expected to offer benefits to many of the stakeholders. For this reason, the findings should be transmitted to its many audiences in appropriate ways. Study results also should be shared with participants and other people involved after the survey finishes. Therefore, I propose that all stakeholders and beneficiaries should have equal access to the report and know what kind of report is being produced. I also would like to have a chance to add their contributions to the report before it is finally produced in a way of an interim report. For this purpose, I would like to use English as a means of communication of findings and reporting in any occasion to share the same information with any stakeholder involved.



## **Appendix 5. A Letter format to schools for Interviews**

18th June, 2003

The Headteacher

----- p.s.

Thro'

The AEO

Nuu Division.

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **RE: SCHOOL-BASED ASSISTANT TEACHERS' FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS ON MOTIVATION WORKSHOPS**

The above subject refers.

The NuU Divisional Education office and CanDo kindly bring to your notice the above planned activity. The objective of this exercise is to assess the effects of the on-going CanDo teachers' motivation workshops in the division. This exercise is part of the evaluation of CanDo's projects being undertaken this year. The evaluation is basically aimed at improving the implementation of CanDo's projects in the division. The ultimate goal is to uplift the standards of education in NuU division through the improvement of these program activities.

In view of this, the assistant teachers' focus group interview in your school will be carried out on .....June 03 at ...AM. We look forward to your cooperation and active participation in this important exercise. CanDo sincerely hopes that the exercise will greatly contribute towards the improvement of educational programs in NuU for the benefit of the pupils, teachers, and the community at large.

Find attached the focus group interview timetable.

Yours faithfully

Hiroaki NAGAOKA

Nairobi Representative

## **Appendix 6. Question Route for Focus Group with Teachers**

### **Focus Group Interviews with Classroom Teachers**

#### **Questioning Route**

##### Opening Question

1. Please tell us how you came to know about CanDo.

May be you could begin by telling us for how long you have interacting with CanDo.

##### Introductory Questions

2. What point was the most impressive to you in the workshop you participated in?

How did the workshop satisfy your eagerness to learn more about your motivation in your school?

3. What was the inconvenience to you in the workshop?
4. What action was taken after the workshop?

##### Transition Questions

5. In your opinion, what would you really say was of particular importance to you in the motivation workshop?

##### Key Questions

6. How did you directly benefit from the workshop?
7. Has there been any difference in the relationships with parents/colleagues/head-teacher after the workshop? If so, how?

How about difference in your classroom?

8. Is there anything you feel could have been missing or was not done properly in the workshop as you would have liked?

##### Ending Questions

9. Could you say that the workshops have helped you positively in any way?
10. What advice can you give to the organisers of these workshops?
11. Feel free to tell us if there is anything you think we left out that we should talked about?

### **Interview with Head-teacher and Deputy Head-teacher**

Question 2, 3, and 5 in addition to the questions below

Has there been any difference observed in the school after the workshop concerning the relationship between teachers and parents? How about the behaviour of classroom teachers?

Could you say that the workshop have helped the teachers in your school positively in anyway?

## Appendix 7. The Summary of Teachers Workshops in Nuu Division

### School Based Workshops for Motivation

| Primary School         | ws date  | Attendance |     | D<br>H/T | Snr<br>Te | Ass-Te | Pre<br>S/T | parents |
|------------------------|----------|------------|-----|----------|-----------|--------|------------|---------|
|                        |          | teacher    | H/T |          |           |        |            |         |
| Head Teachers          | 09/03/00 | 13         | 13  |          |           |        |            |         |
| Senior Teachers        | 29/06/00 | 25         | 0   | 2        | 18        | 5      |            | -       |
| Kithituni              | 21/02/01 | 8          | 1   | 1        |           | 5      | 1          | -       |
| Imwamba                | 22/02/01 | 9          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 5      | 1          | -       |
| Tuvaani                | 23/02/01 | 5          | 1   |          | 1         | 3      |            | -       |
| Yatwa                  | 27/02/01 | 8          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 4      | 1          | -       |
| Ngangani               | 05/06/01 | 8          | 1   | 1        | 2         | 3      | 1          | 1       |
| Kavuti                 | 07/06/01 | 3          |     | 1        |           | 3      |            | -       |
| Mutulu                 | 13/06/01 | 6          | 1   | 1        |           | 3      | 1          | 8       |
| Mwambiu,               | 19/09/01 | 9          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 4      | 2          | 10      |
| Nyaani                 | 19/09/01 | 8          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 3      | 2          | 16      |
| Kalesi                 | 20/09/01 | 7          | 1   |          |           | 6      |            | 1       |
| Nzanzu                 | 20/09/01 | 8          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 4      | 1          | 10      |
| Kaombe                 | 03/10/01 | 7          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 4      |            | 7       |
| Mutyangome             | 03/10/01 | 9          | 1   |          | 1         | 6      | 1          | 8       |
| Kiliku                 | 13/02/02 | 5          |     | 1        |           | 3      | 1          | 9       |
| Nuu                    | 13/02/02 | 9          |     |          |           | 9      |            | 6       |
| Kathanze               | 14/02/02 | 6          | 1   |          | 1         | 4      |            | 0       |
| Kyumbe                 | 14/02/02 | 7          |     | 1        |           | 5      | 1          | 5       |
| Matulani               | 15/02/02 | 4          | 1   | 1        |           | 2      |            | 10      |
| Muangen                | 27/02/02 | 8          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 5      |            | 6       |
| Kawelu                 | 20/06/02 | 5          | 1   | 1        |           | 3      |            | 9       |
| Iviani                 | 26/06/02 | 5          | 1   |          |           | 4      |            | 36      |
| Wingemi                | 26/06/02 | 9          | 1   |          |           | 8      |            | 60      |
| Mbia                   | 04/07/02 | 4          | 1   | 1        |           | 2      |            | 12      |
| Syumakethe             | 04/07/02 | 3          | 1   |          |           | 2      |            | 20      |
| Kivundui               | 11/09/02 | 4          | 1   |          | 1         | 1      | 1          | 8       |
| Kavuti 2 <sup>nd</sup> | 12/09/02 | 6          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 3      |            | 5       |
| Nguueni                | 17/07/03 | 4          | 1   | 1        |           | 1      | 1          | 18      |
| Kavindu                | 23/07/03 | 9          | 1   | 1        | 1         | 6      |            | 30      |
| Kaai                   | not held |            |     |          |           |        |            |         |

## Appendix 8. Coding for the Interviews

### The Coding of Interview Scripts

| CODE | CATEGORY                   |  |   |
|------|----------------------------|--|---|
|      | <b><u>I. TEACHER</u></b>   |  |   |
| t1x  | Perceptions of:            |  |   |
| t1a  |                            | <b>Activities</b>  | acceptance of activity<br>understanding of activity   |
| t1b  |                            | <b>Pupils</b>  | perception of and relation with pupils  |
| t1c  |                            | <b>Parents</b>   | perception of and relation with parents   |
| t1d  |                            | <b>Environment</b>   | environmental awareness   |
| t1e  |                            | <b>CanDo</b>   |   |
| t1f  |                            | <b>difficulties/obstacles</b>  |   |
| t2x  | Practices                  |  |   |
| t2a  |                            | <b>innovation &amp; creativity</b>   | management skills<br>practical skills (technical innovativeness)<br>teaching skills<br>improvisation<br>influence on other class activities |
| t2b  |                            | <b>interaction within school</b>   | h/t-to-teacher<br>teacher-to-teacher w/in school  |
| t2c  |                            | <b>interaction with others</b>   | teacher-to-teacher across schools<br>edu. officer-to-teacher  |
| t3x  | Attitude                   |  |   |
| t9x  | Miscellaneous              |  |   |
|      | <b><u>II. PUPILS</u></b>   |  |   |
| c1x  | Attitudes                  | Interests<br>Excitement<br>Confidence<br>Courage<br>attitudes toward learning<br>Understanding<br>practical skills<br>peer relation<br>(child-to-child)<br>environmental awareness |   |
| c2x  | Practices                  | application of science in playing/daily life<br>replication (extension)  |   |
| c3x  | Performance                | Exams<br>attendance/enrolment  | KCPE<br>other exams<br>attendance<br>new admission<br>drop outs   |
| c9x  | Miscellaneous              |  |   |
|      | <b><u>III. PARENTS</u></b> |  |   |
| p1x  | Perceptions of:            |  |   |
| p1a  |                            | understanding on activity<br>education/children's future   |   |
| p1b  |                            | perceptions,<br>satisfaction/appreciation)   |   |
| p1c  |                            | Teachers   |   |